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BELA KUN. ANDRE MARTY.
SEE WITHIN

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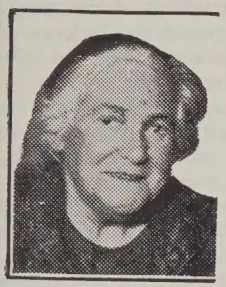
CLARA ZETKIN

Greetings from the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.



CLARA ZETKIN

DEAR Comrade Clara Zetkin,

The Presidium of the Communist International sends you its revolutionary greetings on the 75th anniversary of your birthday.

The world proletariat remembers your services in the emancipation struggle. The masses of working women see in you one of their best front rank fighters for the emancipation of women, for the victory of socialism. On your initiative, International Women's Day has been brought into being, on your initiative the masses of toiling women all over the world year in and year out demonstrate their will to struggle against famine and poverty, against exploitation and war.

The fighting spirit which permeated your numerous articles published in past years in "Gleichheit" (Equality) when you first led the struggle for the interests of the masses of toiling women, glows all the more brightly in all the articles and speeches in which you have come forward in the ranks of the Communist International for the cause of the emancipation of the entire proletariat.

Now, when fascism and the danger of a new imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet Union are threatening the toiling masses all over the world with unprecedented force, the Communist International reminds all toilers of your great services in the struggle against imperialist war. Thanks to your leadership, the International Women's Conference in 1914 was transformed into an International anti-imperialist demonstration. For decades you have fought in the ranks of the Second International against militarism, imperialism and war.

Together with Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and many nameless revolutionary Marxists, you, while in the ranks of German Social Democracy, raised your voice against the betrayal of international socialism by the Second International. With martial law in effect, you, in spite of persecution and imprisonment, gave all your strength to offer organised resistance to the instigators of imperialist war and to check their supporters in the camp of international Social Democracy.

When the war frenzy was at its height, you, together with the best representatives of the German proletariat, bravely bore aloft the banner of revolutionary proletarian internationalism against the chauvinist Social Democracy, which had gone over to the side of their own bourgeoisie.

Imbued with the same fighting spirit, you are still fighting, together with the whole Communist International, against the threatening danger of imperialist war.

You were one of the first leaders of the German proletariat to join openly the great October Revolution and to give all your strength to the popularisation of the great achievements of the October Revolution and the victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

On your 75th birthday the Communist International expresses the hope that you, full of young vigour, will yet serve for many years the struggle for the emancipation of the international proletariat.

PRESIDIUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to Comrade Clara Zetkin.

To you, a veteran of the international labour movement, an ardent champion of the proletarian revolution, one of the oldest leaders of the Communist International, a comrade and friend of the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., a fighter for the liberation of women workers—the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. sends warm Bolshevik greetings on your 75th birthday.

You, a companion in arms of Engels, fought untiringly against opportunism in the Second International, with the full weight of your brilliant intellect and revolutionary passion, you have thrown down the gauntlet to Bernsteinism, to revisionism.

In the days when universal slaughter was sprung upon the world, when the moving spirits of the Second International disgracefully harnessed themselves to the chariot of imperialism, you, together with Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, raised on high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

You were with us in the days of October and in the days of the civil war, when world-wide counter-revolution tried to crush the first proletarian State in the world. You, staunch friend of the U.S.S.R., are always in fighting trim when the enemy threatens the land of the Soviets.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. extends its heartiest congratulations and expresses its unshakable confidence that you will continue to fight for many years to come in the front ranks of the Communist International.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.

To Clara Zetkin.

Telegraphic Greetings of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany on the Occasion of the 75th Birthday of this Revolutionary Front-Rank Fighter.

The C.C. of the C.P.G. sends you warm martial greetings in the name of the Party and the revolutionary working class of Germany on the occasion of your 75th birthday. Your revolutionary life-work serves us as an example and incentive for the fulfilment of our revolutionary task; to lead the German proletariat to mass struggles and to victory over the bourgeoisie and fascism. The anti-fascist demonstration, to participate in which the C.P.G. and Red Trade Union Opposition is appealing to the toiling masses, will, despite the opposition of the social-democratic party leaders, create the united battlefront against all enemies of the workers and thereby create the preconditions for the proletarian revolution in Germany. It is our wish that we may yet long enjoy your creative energy.

Long live the C.P.S.U. and its Bolshevik Central Committee, our preceptor in the struggle for the liberation of the German working class from the yoke of capitalism!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.!

On to World Revolution!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

Telegram.

Clara Zetkin, Kremlin, Moscow (1.c.)

Paris FM 104 37*W* 4 19 35 *Via Northern.*

Central Committee French Party and editors "Humanité" send cordial greetings to valiant fighter who helped rid Party of reformism Tours Congress and on occasion of seventy-fifth birthday send fraternal wishes for health.

THOREZ CACHIN BERLIOZ.

Dear Comrade Clara,

The Editorial Board of the "Communist International" sends you, the tried proletarian revolutionary, a worker of the Communist International, warm greetings. All your life of many years of revolutionary struggle stands out as an example of revolutionary education for the new generation of fighters for the cause of the proletariat. All your abilities, all your literary talents, you have given to the struggle for the cause of Communism, to the struggle against the enemies of the working class, to the struggle against the lackeys of capitalism—the social democracy which is the main social support of the bourgeoisie.

We are confident that you, as before, will be in the front ranks of Lenin's guard, that you will in the same self-sacrificing manner struggle for the cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin, that you will, as before, fight the enemies of the proletariat and serve the cause of the proletarian revolution, the cause of international communism.

We wish you very many years of constructive revolutionary work.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE "COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL."

Greetings from the International Women's Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

The International Women's Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. sends you warm revolutionary greetings on your 75th birthday.

All your life, dear Comrade Clara, you have set all the working women of the world an example of self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of the proletariat. You have given all your strength, your will-power, your experience and all your revolutionary energy to this struggle for the World October.

For millions of working women of the world your name has become a symbol of revolutionary struggle against the capitalist order and imperialist war, a symbol mobilising the masses for the defence of the U.S.S.R. and of socialist construction.

The international proletariat knows and honours its heroes, and your name is inscribed on that roll of honour in letters of gold.

On your 75th birthday we wish you good health and strength so that you may be able to continue your work and struggle.

Long live the C.I. and its vanguard fighters!

Long live the World Revolution!

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S SECRETARIAT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

AUGUST THE FIRST

EIGHT sections of the Communist International — the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Great Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Rumania, Italy and the U.S.A. — have issued a call to the proletarians of all countries, to the working men, women and youth in the towns and on the land, to make 1 August a mighty demonstration of "the triumphant revolutionary united front of all the exploited and oppressed in the common struggle against Fascism and reaction, against the war danger and in defence of the Soviet Union."

This act of the eight sections of the World Communist Party is a component part of the revolutionary struggle of the Communist International against the preparations for imperialist war and against military intervention in the Soviet Union, preparations for which have been made with feverish zeal for years past by the leading imperialist powers and their vassal states.

The imperialist war, which was opened in the Far East last September by Japanese Imperialism, *as a prelude to the new imperialist world war,* continues. Manchuria, as an "independent state," will be used by Japan and transformed into a military centre against the Soviet Union. Japanese troops, a hundred thousand strong, occupy the most important strategical points in Manchuria, along the Soviet frontier. All over the world Russian white guards are being recruited to form an "army of provocation" against the Soviet Union in Manchuria. A Japanese military mission, consisting of 70 officers, is travelling around Poland; another, consisting of naval officers, is at present in Germany, other military and naval missions are visiting the English and French military staffs, and industrial war undertakings. Weapons and munitions are being loaded in the ports of all European countries, to be transported to Japan under the Black Flag.

In Poland, too, in Rumania and Finland, preparations for war are being continued at a feverish pace. While the Soviet Union, despite every provocation, is pursuing her struggle to secure peace with implacable consistency, the sabotage of peace by the imperialists of all countries continues, an eloquent example of which is given by the so-called "disarmament conference" in Geneva. After long delay on the part of these powers, the conference was convened on the slogan of disarmament. But not one, not even the most moderate proposal to limit armaments has been made, against which the imperialist powers, their diplomatic and military representatives, have not immediately raised howls of protest. Litvinov's proposals for general and complete disarmament, as well as those suggesting partial but real limitation of armaments, were quietly buried by the conference. The former slave trader, President Hoover, put his disarmament proposal before England, France and Japan, and the answer of these three powers showed clearly that the leading imperialist states have absolutely no idea of even effecting a limitation of armaments, let alone disarming altogether.

The world economic crisis, and particularly the crisis in state finances, the end of which is not yet in sight, in no way led to a reduction of expenditure on armaments. It has made the contradictions between the imperialist powers, the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union, and the colonial powers and the colonial countries more acute. It has led to an increase in the preparations for war and to an intensification of the war danger; to the beginning of a new imperialist war in the Far East. The last two months have witnessed an intensification of the contradictions among the imperialist powers on the one hand, and intensified efforts to form new groupings of powers on the other. The Lausanne Conference has shown clearly that no *rapprochement* is possible between two imperialist powers without straining the relations between these two powers on the one hand and a third imperialist power or group of powers on the other. The Lausanne conference has not by any means abolished the contradictions between France and Germany.* The very decisions of the Lausanne conference themselves contain the seeds of a new aggravation of Franco-German relations; moreover, the new Anglo-French Entente also means an intensification of the contradiction between Germany and England. Despite the agreement between England and France on the question of reparations and inter-allied debts, and although the Lausanne decisions were also signed by Italy, the crisis of the Versailles Peace system has not been solved; on the contrary, it has become more acute. On the Eastern frontier of Germany and in Danzig and the Polish Corridor, new conflicts are rapidly coming to a head, conflicts which may afford the direct impulse to an imperialist war. Marshal Foch's words are being more frequently repeated: "The new war will begin in the Corridor." The old contradictions between England and the U.S.A. have also grown more acute as a result

*See leader, No. 13, "Communist International."

of the Lausanne decisions. The "United European Front" against America, which it was the object of British policy to build up at Lausanne, is not strongly forged. Germany, whose "war guilt" was not wiped out at Lausanne, but was indeed affirmed anew, stands behind this European front, grinding her teeth against France. Italy will engage in united procedure with France and England against America on questions of European and world policy, only conditionally and with reservations. Germany's further isolation as a result of the Anglo-French pact strengthens the tendency to the formation of a revision bloc between Germany and Italy, with the inclusion of Hungary and Bulgaria. Even in France's vassal states, Poland, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia, a certain fermentation is going on in questions of foreign policy. The French banks wish their treasuries to be used for armaments against the Soviet Union only, not to relieve the crisis or to balance the state budget. Consequently there is considerable discontent with French financial policy in various circles in these countries. Nevertheless the Anglo-French *rapprochement* marks an important step in anti-Soviet war preparations.

American imperialism is playing a complicated game, supplying the Japanese army with munitions for the war against the U.S.S.R., trying to make the most of the Soviet-Japanese contradiction and at the same time pursuing a policy of ogling the Soviet Union. The main idea in this game is probably to pursue a policy calculated to involve Japan and the U.S.S.R. in a war with each other with a view to bringing about the defeat of the U.S.S.R. and the weakening of Japan—America's rival in the Pacific.

The Lausanne conference shows clearly that in the complex whole of world politics, no question can be solved in isolation. The question of reparations could not be solved apart from that of inter-allied debts; the question of inter-allied debts is treated by the United States as part of the disarmament question (of course the disarmament of America's debtors) the disarmament question is closely connected with defending the tottering Versailles system; but the Versailles system is the basis on which the imperialist powers carried through their redivision of the world. Every problem of international imperialist policy increases the pressure to a new division of the world. Franco-Japanese co-operation in the Far East means nothing less than the defence of the frontiers laid down at Versailles. The redivision of the world has become the immediate historical question of to-day, that is the reason why the war danger cannot be absent from the agenda of international politics for one day.

The capitalist world is also guiding its internal policy in the same direction, that policy being dictated by the intensification of the crisis. The "Autarchy of national economy," however reactionary a utopia it may be, is nevertheless adapted to sharpen the economic war among the capitalist powers, to make world economic relations even more confused and strengthen national chauvinist sentiment and Fascist tendencies. Fascism within one country represents a problem of foreign policy for the other countries. The aggravation of the German-Polish struggle for Danzig offers the best proof of this. The result is increase in armaments for both external and internal use and an increase in the danger of new imperialist wars and of civil war within several countries.

Despite the intensification of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, the unrest in the vassal states of French imperialism, and certain dissatisfaction with French policy in Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania, the danger of war on the Soviet Union cannot be considered as having diminished. The new governments in France, Japan and Rumania do not indicate any change from the military policy of the previous cabinets. We have only to remember the words of the leader of the C.P.S.U. and the Communist International, Comrade Stalin, on the dialectical relation between inter-imperialist contradictions on the one hand, and the contradiction which exists between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union on the other, to be convinced of this.

"Therefore, every time that capitalist contradictions begin to grow acute the bourgeoisie turns its gaze towards the U.S.S.R. : 'Cannot we settle this or that contradiction of capitalism, or all the contradictions taken together, at the expense of the U.S.S.R., the land of the Soviets, the citadel of the revolution, revolutionising by its very existence the working class and the colonies, preventing us arranging for a new war, preventing us dividing the world anew, preventing us being masters of their extensive internal market, so necessary for the capitalists, particularly to-day, in connection with the economic crisis?'

"Hence the tendency to adventurist assaults on the U.S.S.R. and to intervention, a tendency which is bound to be strengthened in connection with the developing economic crisis."

The economic crisis has embraced the whole world and is becoming more acute, as Comrade Stalin predicted. The tendencies towards intervention have become sharply accentuated and the

danger of military intervention against the Soviet Union has become immediate.

If the war that has broken out in the Far East has not yet changed into an open war of intervention against the Soviet Union, that is not due to the paper resolutions of the Executive Committee of the Second International nor to the imprecations of the Pacifists of all countries, but to the *determined revolutionary resistance* offered by the proletariat and the wide toiling masses under the leadership of the Communist Party, as exemplified in the heroic struggle of the Communist Parties of China and Japan, the heroic resistance of the French proletariat (of the events in Dijon, etc.), of the Polish proletariat (of the events in Gdyna), and the Greek proletariat in Athens, etc.

While the economic crisis spreads further and deeper in the capitalist countries, and the revolutionary wave in the imperialist, colonial and semi-colonial countries rises higher, the preconditions of a revolutionary crisis are coming to a head in a number of capitalist countries. Capitalist stability is drawing its last breath, the Soviet Union, despite all difficulties, is marching firmly and victoriously forward along the road of Socialism. All hopes of overthrowing the Soviet Power from within, entertained by the capitalists, of uprooting Socialism by "peaceful methods," by "the advantages of the capitalist system" as compared with Socialism, have completely disappeared. The contrary has indeed taken place: the superiority of the Socialist over the capitalist economic system has become a fact, which is being recognised by larger and larger numbers in addition to the adherents of the Communist Parties. That is why, *although the united front of the imperialist powers against the Soviet power has not yet been completely formed, and although the contradictions among the imperialist powers have grown more acute in the last two months, the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union is, and remains, a most menacing danger.*

This was admitted (with a good deal of misgiving and scepticism) even by the Second International. In face of the Japanese campaign of robbery in Manchuria, on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the facts simply could not be denied. It would have been too stupid to attempt to deny facts which every worker can see, by downright lying. Hence the attitude adopted at the Zürich session and in the entire press of the Second International. The misgivings came mostly from the right wing. "There is no freedom for the Mensheviks (i.e., for the counter-revolution B.K.) in the Soviet Union," said Dan and Abramovitch, who acted as the touts for transferring money from French imperialists, to the wreckers and the ideological leaders of wrecking and espionage in the Soviet Union. Herr Liebermann, "the hero of the Brest-Litovsk prison," the leader of the Polish Social-Fascists, has no desire to fight against Pilsudsky; still less does he wish to hear that in the face of the danger of a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union "we should fight for the Soviets."* Herr Hilferding declares, "that the overthrow of Russia by Japan might have a harmful influence, but the contrary is also true." He feels, he knows, that not only the military victory of the Soviet Union but also the victory of the Socialist Soviet Union in the peaceful work of construction, is a "hostile act" against international Social-Democracy. There are to be no one-sided ties in the event of war—this was the formula of support for anti-Soviet intervention adopted at Zürich.

The scepticism came from the "lefts" at Zürich, from Herr Otto Bauer and Company. "If the grave danger with which we were threatened in May should arise again (that is, the danger does not exist now, or exists only as a question mark B.K.) the working class of the world must know what it has to do, in order to be ready to fulfil its historical duty." Thus wrote Herr Otto Bauer shortly after the Zürich meeting of the Executive of the Second International. The working class shall only then fulfil its historical duty, when war is already here, when it is in their own country. We know what the leaders of the Second International mean by this duty. This duty is nothing but the *defence of the Fatherland, of their own bourgeoisie, their own imperialism.* Until one's own country is at war—vote for war credits, support war industries, "war brings work and bread," "we remain neutral," sabotage of efforts to prevent the transport of munitions to Japan, support for the League of Nations and dissemination of Pacifism in the ranks of the working class (prevent the real, active struggle against the preparation for imperialist war) and for military intervention against the Soviet Union.

The struggle of the Communist International for a wide united front of the working class against war preparations, a struggle, not with paper resolutions and solemn assertions of peace, but by mobilising masses of the workers against armaments and the transport of munitions, against Fascism and against Pacifist swindles, *has not been sufficiently successful* by any means. We have not yet reached all the important sections of the working class in the main countries,

*See No. 11/12, "Communist International."

not to mention the peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie in our anti-war work. *In particular our work in mobilising the workers in war industries and in transport is extremely inadequate.* We are not yet hammering sufficiently into the consciousness of the working class the understanding that with the *new methods and technique of conducting war,* the specific gravity of the working class in the preparation for war, in the strategical conditions determining victory or defeat for their "own" bourgeoisie, has grown much greater than it was; the understanding *that now, more than ever, it depends upon the working class in the imperialist and colonial countries whether the world war and military intervention against the Soviet Union becomes a fact in the near future.*

One should not entirely accept the theories of the English military expert Fuller as a hundred per cent. correct, nevertheless, the truth of some of the calculations made by this master of the latest military technique, according to which, the development of the most modern military technique and the mechanisation of armies has, to a large extent, made the industrial military concerns the vital centre in the conduct of war, must be recognised. If it requires 1½ men at home to serve an armed soldier at the front, then to maintain a tank with 25 soldiers at the front 70 workers are necessary in the hinterland; to maintain an aeroplane with 25 soldiers at the front, 125 workers at home. From these figures it can be seen that we not only *have to extend and improve the illegal activity of the Communist Party in the army itself to the utmost, but also mass work among the entire working class, in the first place among the workers engaged in war industries,* if we are to really fight the imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet Union, not in words and paper resolutions about a general strike in the event of war, but in deeds. In both *respects we have to admit that the Communist Parties have remained behind the war preparations of the imperialists. August 1st must serve as the opportunity to rapidly liquidate this backwardness in the immediate future.*

Of no less importance in our agitation against imperialist war, is the extension of the Bolshevik mass educational work in exposure of the secret of "slipping into" an imperialist war. The agitation of the Communist International and the campaign led by the Communist Parties against imperialist war have already made the masses aware, despite the cloudy Pacifism of the League of Nations and the Second International, that imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet Union is being prepared by the leading imperialist powers and their vassal states at a speed which increases daily. Nevertheless the secret of how the world will be hurled into imperialist war has not been revealed extensively enough by any means. That is why the workers still expect the new imperialist world war, the new military intervention against the Soviet Union, to begin on *the old model* with solemn declarations of war (preceded by the rupture of diplomatic relations) by general mobilisation in the different countries. Nothing of the sort is provided for in the military plans of the imperialists.

The preparation of the hinterland for war has already been carried out in its main outlines in most countries, certainly in all the border states of the Soviet Union. Fascist measures against the working class, the abrogation of so-called democratic liberties (freedom of meeting, of association, etc.) which formerly were put into execution only during war time, are already a fact. The industries essential to war are actually, if not yet formally, fully militarised. Special Fascist formations have long been in existence to maintain "peace and order" in the hinterland. In fact everything has been done to let war fall upon the workers as an *overwhelming surprise.* In Poland Pilsudski's army contains a *special army,* the so-called alarm army. One-third of the Polish infantry, one-half of the Polish cavalry, special air squadrons and mechanised detachments, forming this special army, are ready to fall upon the frontiers of the Soviet Union at any moment without any previous mobilisation.

In France the special army consists of twenty divisions.

The Japanese army in Manchuria, consisting of more than eight divisions, plays a similar part to the alarm army.

Consequently, no general mobilisation will be necessary to begin war as it was in 1914. General mobilisation is already an affair of war-time.

Japan's campaign against China in Manchuria and Shanghai, shows that the so-called international standards of law which regulate the relations between states not only in war time but also in peace, with the help of the League of Nations, have already been thrown into the lumber room, and solemn declarations of war have become old-fashioned and are no longer in use.

This also demonstrates the hypocrisy of international Social-Democracy which says that the Communists exaggerate the war danger. This shows that to speak of an exaggeration of the war danger serves only to conceal imperialist armaments and the preparations of the imperial-

ist states and their vassals. Those sentiments, too, which can be expressed in the words: "We've been talking so long about the war danger, and still there is no war; they will not believe us when the war danger grows really acute," reflect Social-Democratic influence on certain Communists.

The Communist Parties must do everything in their power to mobilise the greatest number of workers against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. We must understand that the war, to which, as Lenin said, the slightest thing may give the impulse, may, in the present situation, and level of preparation reached by the imperialist powers, develop at any moment into imperialist world war and military intervention against the Soviet Union. That is why "the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war is the command of every moment, every hour."

BELA KUN.

THE WAR MENACE AND THE TASKS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE Y.C.I.

By P. RAKHOMIAGHI.

THE questions of the struggle against imperialist war and the growing danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R. have lately focussed the attention of the Young Communist International and its sections in their entire work. The intensification of the world economic crisis, the increase of the antagonisms between the socialist system and the capitalist system, the intensification of the class struggle in every country, the strengthening of the contradictions between the imperialist powers, all this together is drawing the capitalist world into new imperialist wars with incredible speed and strengthening the danger of a new interventionist war and armed attack against the Soviet Union every day.

On the background of all these contradictions, and the aggravation of the class struggle, a tremendously bitter struggle is being waged for the youth. Being thrown out of the factories and schools upon the street by the million, deprived of all prospects within the framework of the modern capitalist system, under the conditions of the unprecedented destitution of the toiling masses, the youth is being increasingly and more speedily drawn into the whirlpool of the class struggle. Under these conditions all the bourgeois parties, beginning with the most "radical" and "left" social-democrats and ending with Hitler and Mussolini, are attempting to build their bourgeois programme of the "social" and national "emancipation" and "salvation" of the youth. They resort to demagogy about "socialism" as a bait by means of which they hope to ensnare the youth. All the bourgeois "socialists" have been forced to such speculation on socialism by the tremendous successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and by the great sympathies which have been daily growing among the widest masses of the working class and working youth for the U.S.S.R., for revolutionary socialism.

On the one hand, this forces the bourgeoise to strengthen the repressions and persecutions by means of the consolidation of the fascist dictatorship, and on the other, to disseminate "left" demagogy through their agency in the working class and among the young workers, to cultivate the doctrine of bourgeois "socialism" of the Otto Bauer brand, for without a secure and safe rear every warlike adventure is doomed to failure. Hence the attempt to win over the youth by pledges and promises of the bourgeois fatherland. Slander on the U.S.S.R., persecutions and suppression of the revolutionary organisations of the youth, represent mere links in a single chain of preparation for war and intervention.

Under these conditions an extremely responsible task devolves upon all communist parties and communist youth leagues of exposing social-democracy and fascism, eradicating the pacifist illusions, and winning the youth to the side of the Communist Party and Y.C.L., lining them up with the active fighters for the proletarian revolution.

Now that the class struggle is concentrated around the one fundamental question of the way out of the crisis, now that every young worker is faced with the problem of choosing between the *capitalist* and the *revolutionary* solution of the crisis, the question of the winning of the masses of the working and toiling youth to the side of the revolutionary proletariat, as a most essential part of the general task of the winning of the majority of the working class, calls for our special attention.

For this reason, our entire struggle against

imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union must mark the consolidation of the revolutionary movement in each country, the strengthening of the struggle for a revolutionary solution of the crisis and for rallying the broad masses of young workers for the Communist Party and the League.

The basic weaknesses of the Y.C.I. and its sections to-day consist in the fact that, in the majority of the countries, we not only failed to take up the leadership in this struggle of the toiling youth for a revolutionary solution of the crisis, but have not even succeeded in bringing home to the masses of the youth the Marxist-Leninist teachings on war and revolution. This has been largely due to the abstractness displayed on the questions of the anti-militarist work, and to the existence of certain opportunist fluctuations and mistakes which have been revealed in particular relief in connection with the occupation of Manchuria and the war in China. Our young communist leagues, during the first days of the war in the East, failed to rebuild their work at once in accordance with the tasks placed before them by the new, most tense stage in the threat of imperialist war and intervention and by the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East. On the one hand there existed a tremendous opportunist underestimation of the events taking place in the East, and on the other the leagues were dismayed during the first stage of the development of the Eastern events and proved to be incapable of mobilising the young workers against the bourgeoisie. Here a wide gulf was revealed between our abstract anti-war propaganda, and the real preparedness and ability of the leagues to carry out the tasks with which they were entrusted. It turned out that so long as we spoke of war and intervention, in general, everything appeared all right. But when the leagues were concretely confronted with the necessity of bringing the youth into motion, or organising them for revolutionary mass action against the war and preparation for intervention, it appeared that the leagues were full of confusion, that they sometimes had no idea even of the most elementary forms of anti-war struggle, there appeared a complete bouquet both of right and "left" opportunist theories, disorganising the work of the leagues.

The causes for this are to be found firstly in the existence of fairly strong social-democratic and pacifist sentiments among the working youth and within the leagues themselves, and secondly in the abstract system of leadership, of which not only the various sections are guilty but also in a large measure the leadership of the Y.C.I. itself. It has been frequently forgotten that to-day we have entirely new cadres of youths in the organisation who do not remember either the imperialist war or the revolution of 1918 and who did not even participate in the battles of 1921-1923, that those cadres who had waged these battles in the international youth movement have long since gone, that they have been replaced by entirely new cadres, a large proportion of whom have come to our movement from the social-democratic and other bourgeois organisations of the youth and have been in the Y.C.L. for only one or two years (up to 70 per cent. of the membership of the foreign sections joined the Y.C.L. in 1931-1932).

These new cadres have not yet received either a sufficient education or practical experience of struggle. Not only the rank and file but even the overwhelming majority of the active members of the League are unacquainted either with Lenin's doctrine of war and revolution, or the experience of the bolsheviks. The effect of all this has been the political confusion, and organisational incapacity, strikingly displayed at a time when a clear political line and determined action were particularly necessary.

This confusion was manifested not only in half-suppressed sentiments but also in political slogans advanced by the leagues. On the one hand, these slogans were issued mechanically and mostly resolved themselves into the mere slogan, "Defend the U.S.S.R.," without co-ordination with the struggle against the local bourgeoisie and its war preparations. The question of the defence of the Soviet regions in China was given very little attention, while the slogan of the defence of the independence of the Chinese people against the imperialist powers was frequently ignored altogether. This led to a certain exaggeration of one point: the whole attention was given to the defence of the Soviet Union without linking it up with the plans of the imperialists in China. In practice this resulted in the masses being insufficiently informed in regard to the main task of the Y.C.I. (both in Europe and in America) stoppage of war-transport in China, and the struggle against the national bourgeoisie.

In a number of leagues the following sentiments were (and still are) widespread: first that "the war is far away and does not affect us," that "our country will not participate in the war," that "actually war has not been declared," that "when war starts against the U.S.S.R. we shall act," etc. Later, in connection with the protraction of the Japanese operations in Shanghai and Manchuria, different talk began to be heard. "The threat of war has passed, already negotiations for peace are in progress," "each spring there is talk of war, yet there is no war," etc.

Side by side with these clearly expressed Right-Wing sentiments, the so-called "war sentiments"

are very strong, especially in Poland, in the border countries and in the Balkans; here there is talk to the following effect: "Why fight against war, war will bring on a revolution," "Let the war come sooner, we will receive arms and will turn them against our own bourgeoisie," "The Red Army will come to free us," etc.

It is clear that these "left" and "war" sentiments and theories—all of which essentially consists in the view that the first day of the war must *certainly* be the first day of the revolution, that only in connection with war is a revolution possible—actually disrupt and disorganise the mass anti-war work, do not promote the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle against their own bourgeoisie and for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, but create a sentiment in favour of passively waiting and objectively help the bourgeoisie in its military preparations. A number of Leagues (Spanish, Belgian, Austrian) advanced the slogan "convert the imperialist war into a civil war" as a slogan of immediate action. But, as there was no war in those countries such a slogan only disorganised the masses of the youth and the League itself. By such a slogan they shirked the responsibility for work among the masses and for the struggle against the transportation of munitions. If we remember, in addition, what activity has been developed by all the bourgeois organisations, social-democracy, the pacifists, etc., in connection with the war, and to what a barrage of various theories and doctrines the masses of the youth are subjected, it will be clear that far from all the members of the League even, have been able to determine their attitude towards the events at once. They had no clear idea of what they must do right now, what their tasks are in the struggle against war and the preparations for intervention, not to speak of the great masses of the young workers to whom our leagues have not yet succeeded even to this day in clearly explaining these questions, and the questions of the revolutionary solution of the crisis.

All this placed before the Executive of the Y.C.I. the question of a radical reorganisation of the forms and methods of the anti-war work in all the organisations of the Y.C.L. and the Executive Committee itself. After the February decisions when it was possible to speak seriously of anti-war work only in the Eastern sections (the Y.C.L. of Japan, China, Korea and the revolutionary Youth League of Mongolia), a certain turn was reached in the direction of an improvement of this work. Now we are already able to see in a number of leagues certain successes testifying to the beginning of the reorganisation of the anti-war work.

Take, for instance, such leagues as those of Japan and China which are in the sphere of actual hostilities.

In Japan, despite the fact that just prior to the occupation (September 18, 1931) the bourgeoisie arrested more than 1,000 revolutionary workers and intensified the already brutal terror against the entire left-wing movement, and the originally weak anti-imperialist activity, the Y.C.L. speedily succeeded in reorganising itself and occupied a correct position in the struggle against war. Together with the Communist Party, the Y.C.L. adopted a defeatist position towards Japanese imperialism and its army in China, demanded the withdrawal of the troops, and advanced the slogan of the overthrow of the Japanese monarchy and feudalism. Despite the terror the party and the League succeeded in organising mass demonstrations and actions. In a number of cities the members of the Y.C.L. distributed tens of thousands of leaflets among the soldiers.

Big demonstrations, accompanied by clashes between young workers and students, and the police took place on November 7. The demonstrators demanded the withdrawal of the troops from China, the discontinuation of further troop and ammunition transports to China and advanced the slogans of independence for China, defence of the Soviet Union, defence of the Soviet regions of China, the overthrow of the Japanese monarchy, etc.

The strike of the tramwaymen involving up to 80 per cent. of young workers had a clearly expressed anti-war character. In addition to the general economic demands of the youths, demands were advanced such as the payment of full wages to those mobilised into the army and the issue of this money to their parents. The Union maintained connections with the recruits and soldiers. Soldiers' committees were created at the Shanghai front, and the withdrawal from the front of complete units and the execution of a number of soldiers testify to the penetration and work of the Party and League in the army. Recently the League worked out a concrete series of practical questions of anti-war work in conformity with the new conditions of struggle against Japanese imperialism, a series of questions in connection with work in the army and at the front Despite all these positive factors the League still suffers from a number of weaknesses consisting essentially of the survival of sectarianism and isolation, an underestimation of mass work and the importance of creating a mass League. *To this day the belief in personal heroism rather than in the organisation and struggle of the masses of the youth is still strong.*

The Y.C.L. of China has succeeded in developing a really mass struggle against the Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang Government. The League took a most active part in those mass protest strikes which involved hundreds of thousands of workers. The League correctly instructed the masses of the youth on the struggle for China's national independence and against Japanese imperialism primarily. The demonstrations of young workers and students affected hundreds of thousands of people. The League conducted a series of independent youth strikes and carried out a mobilisation into the ranks of the Red Army of Soviet China. Considerable successes were achieved also in the organisation of the student movement.

The weakness of the League is its still very insufficient work of exposing and fighting against the Kuomintang and its demagogy, which covers the treachery and capitulation to Japan and the other imperialists. ("In face of the threat of a Japanese invasion the entire nation must be united and there must be no class struggle or class enmity.")

The Y.C.L. of the Soviet regions still insufficiently educates the masses and the army to appreciate the importance of the anti-imperialist character of the Chinese revolution.

In the European leagues we also observe a considerable strengthening of the anti-war struggle.

The Czecho-Slovakian League, after the February decision of the Executive Committee, succeeded in achieving a series of substantial successes in the anti-war propaganda and agitation: the League mobilised and brought into motion large bodies of young workers and students, many of whom were recruited into the League.

The League held hundreds of meetings under the slogan of the defence of the U.S.S.R. and exposure of the rôle of the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie in the preparation of the war and intervention. All of these meetings passed resolutions of protest against the war, the Y.C.I., the C.C. of the Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union, and a number of local organisations of the Soviet Y.C.L. receiving over 150 telegrams and letters in the name of these meetings. More than 200 committees of unemployed youth were organised, involving about 20,000 persons, and 23 demonstrations of recruits in which more than 14,000 people participated. The young communist, Grube, who is a member of Parliament, made an anti-war anti-intervention speech in Parliament, exposing the militarist plans of the bourgeoisie. The League has scored unquestionable successes in the struggle against pre-war training and the organisation of the recruiting campaign. The League applied new forms of anti-war work, e.g., the so-called "Red Belt," that is, the mobilisation of all the workers of the villages and hamlets in the vicinity of armament works under the influence of the League, thus creating the possibility of a more successful penetration of the factories. The Central Committee of the League removed two district secretaries for an opportunist underestimation and inactivity in the struggle against the war.

Essentially the real reason for the dissolution of the League by the Government is its vigorous anti-war work: the League was outlawed precisely because its slogan, and struggle against the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie, became sufficiently popular among the masses of the young workers.

The weaknesses of the League consist in that it has not succeeded in organising these masses of young workers for action designed to stop the shipment of arms. Despite such extensive anti-war propaganda we nevertheless failed to hinder the war preparations of the imperialists in munition factories and transport. The recent big strikes (especially the miners) were not sufficiently co-ordinated with the struggle against the war. The sentiment even existed among certain comrades that there was no use connecting up these strikes with anti-war work, as any strike in itself has an anti-war character in that it weakens the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie. While this is essentially correct it does not follow that we must limit ourselves to this, without really mobilising the workers against the impending war and connecting up their economic demands with anti-war demands. The League did not utilise the said strikes in this direction, though a series of strikes were organised by the League which also headed the struggle of the young workers.

The second fundamental weakness consists in that the League has not yet succeeded in penetrating the war works. In this respect the successes are still very limited. In a number of places the united front policy from below, involving the young workers of the social-democratic organisations has been badly distorted. Czecho-Slovakia is commonly regarded as the war arsenal of Europe. The political power of the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie rests to a considerable extent upon the war works. Hence, these works must be captured if we are to seriously attempt to create obstacles to the war preparations. It is here that the centre of gravity of the entire anti-war work of the League must rest. And if this is not yet the case to-day it means that the League has not yet succeeded in rising to a new, higher level of anti-war work, and the work still follows, in a certain measure, the line of least resistance.

In Germany, the turn in the anti-war work occurred chiefly after the March Plenum. The decisive successes in relation to the anti-war work consist in the creation of a number of new factory groups during recent months. Three district conferences of youth employed in war factories and a series of general anti-war conferences, as well as over 200 factory meetings involving more than 4,000 participants have been held. Open-air meetings and demonstrations were organised at 38 armament work-gates and more than three million leaflets and placards and 50,000 copies of anti-war newspapers were issued. The All-German Youth Day and the presidential elections were linked up with the struggle against war. However, despite all this, the League has not yet succeeded in embracing sufficient masses of young workers; its influence over the social-democratic young workers and the young workers affiliated the bourgeois pacifist organisations is particularly weak. The League has failed to extend its influence over the discontented masses of the youth whose indignation is steadily growing, has failed to unmask the demagogy of the German social-democracy as direct support of the policy of revenge, and the demand for "equal" armaments, as well as its "left" demagogy. Also in the struggle waged against fascism and its war agitation the work of the League has been insufficient. At the same time, despite the growth of the groups in the war works, their absolute number is still far from sufficient. The League has not succeeded in organising strikes or impressive demonstrations either in the factories or ports to impede the military shipments, despite the fact that, in a number of cases, the fact of these shipments was known to the masses of adult and young workers.

In Sweden a certain strengthening of the anti-war work could be observed. Since April more than 100 open-air meetings, attended by 8,675 persons, were held, in addition to 10 factory meetings (680 participants), 8 demonstrations (2,670 participants), 6 indoor meetings (5,250 participants). Altogether these meetings and demonstrations embraced 17,225 people. Many tens of thousands of leaflets and placards were distributed and three frontier meetings were organised. However, this anti-war work still has a mostly propagandist character. The work in the ports, commercial fleet and in the armament works is still weak. In the League itself there are strong pacifist sentiments, based upon the fact that Sweden took no part in the last imperialist war. The bourgeoisie and the social-democracy attempt to prove the profitability of "neutrality" (that is, the speculation on war supplies and the commercial fleet) which, they allege, helps to improve the situation of the working class. The bourgeoisie and the social-fascists are attempting to play this card in the present constantly aggravating crisis as well. These "pacifist" theories and demagogy feed the opportunist sentiments in the Y.C.L. and do not meet with sufficient resistance among its members.

In France, the anti-war work does not meet the serious tasks now facing the French League. Owing to this backwardness the League does not make use of the vast possibilities it possesses. A number of meetings and demonstrations have been held and 32 reunions of recruits were organised. The "Vanguard," the central organ of the League, is one of the best Y.C.L. newspapers from the point of view of anti-war propaganda. The League, together with the Party, succeeded in carrying out fairly good work on one cruiser bound for China, as a result of which 75 per cent. of the crew had to be removed and replaced by others. The Naval Ministry itself has been forced to admit on more than one occasion that the navy is infected with revolutionary ferment. The "Humanité" published numerous letters from soldier correspondents revealing the terrible conditions in the French baracks. Reports were also received of mass revolutionary actions of soldiers and especially of reserves.

In connection with the Gorgulov provocation, the League failed to mobilise the great masses for the struggle against the white guards and for the defence of the U.S.S.R. The "Vanguard" re-echoed the voice of the "Humanité" while the struggle against the various white guard youth organisations which have a clear-cut militarist and anti-Soviet character, was ignored by the paper and by the entire League. There is no doubt that if the French League conducts a persistent mass anti-war campaign it will rapidly attain considerably more tangible results.

In America a series of anti-war united front conferences were held with the participation of Negro, Chinese and Korean youth. On April 6, an anti-war parade of youths was held in New York with the participation of 2,500 people. At the beginning the League committed a number of serious mistakes in the organisation of the united front from below; the unity committees essentially represented the leadership of the different reformist, pacifist and Trotzkist organisations rather than their members. Later these mistakes were corrected by the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I.

As regards the Y.C.L.s, of England, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, it is still too early to speak of any

more or less serious and systematic anti-war work on their part.

The basic weaknesses of these Leagues consist in an inability to clearly explain to the masses the class meaning of the war, to expose the social-democratic and the pacifist theories and to link up the anti-war struggle with the economic battles, with the struggle against the national bourgeoisie. At the same time, the very methods and forms of work, the abstract character of the propaganda, the general nature of the slogans, the inability and at times unwillingness to go and persistently explain just how each young worker must fight to-day against the war and the threat of intervention, lead to isolation and aloofness from the great masses. The Leagues have not yet learned to decipher the general line and manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie through concrete, every-day examples, they frequently do not see all those contradictions upon which politics are based.

The education work and theoretical foundation of all the questions connected with war are at an extremely low level.

How great the confusion among certain members of the Y.C.L. and among some of the young workers is may be clearly seen from the replies given to the question : "What will you do in case of war against the U.S.S.R." published by the "Junge Garde," the organ of the German Y.C.L. Some of the answers were as follow : "I will stick my bayonet into the ground," "I will escape to Belgium," "I will do what everybody else does," "I will desert," etc. In these answers the spontaneous protest is clearly expressed, but there is still no conscious will to struggle, no appreciation of how war must be combatted.

Much worse still are such "theories" as the following : "Should a war break out between democratic and fascist States (for instance, between France and Italy or between Germany and Poland) it will be the duty of the proletariat to take up the defence of the democratic State."

This confusion of ideas and theoretical illiteracy also makes itself felt in the struggle against the social-democracy, fascism and the pacifists.

The majority of our Leagues have not succeeded in making a full criticism of these people's positions and demagogy, particularly the last decision of the Second International, "On the Defence of the U.S.S.R."* The struggle against fascism is sometimes entirely ignored in the anti-war activity of the Leagues.

Compared with last year there is a definite strengthening and extension of the anti-war work on the part of our Leagues, this finding an expression in the strengthening of the mass work, in the growth of the groups at munition works and in the consolidation of the connections and work in the army. However, this is still far from saying that the anti-war work is conducted on a level with the tasks raised before us by the revolutionary movement, the tempo of the general preparations of the imperialists for the war and intervention.

An anti-war week means to us primarily a test and review of our forces, connections and influence over the mass of the toiling youth. It is not a campaign, but a stage in the further extension of the anti-war struggle of the masses of young toilers under the leadership of the Communist Party and Y.C.L.

Apart from exposing the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the social-democracy, apart from the struggle against fascism and in the defence of the U.S.S.R., the Young Communist League and the entire revolutionary youth are now faced with the task of protecting the Y.C.L. organisations against suppression and terrorism which are growing daily, an efficient combination of legal and illegal work and an extensive development of the international struggle for the legalisation of the Czecho-Slovakian Y.C.L. and against the threat to suppress the German Y.C.L.

It must be clear to every young worker that the struggle against the suppression of the revolutionary movement, the struggle for the strengthening and consolidation of the masses of the toiling youth for a revolutionary solution of the crisis, represents also the best guarantee of the defence of the U.S.S.R. and of the revolutionary prevention of the threat of imperialist war.

The success of our anti-war struggle and work largely depends upon how concretely and promptly we shall succeed in linking up this struggle in each country with the local events, upon the extent to which we succeed in adjusting the general slogans of the anti-war struggle to the given city, factory, village.

In practice this means that in Germany we must link it up with the struggle for the legality of the party and Y.C.L., and against fascism. In Czecho-Slovakia this involves a strengthening of the struggle against the dissolution of the League and trade unions, a connection with the strikes, etc. In France, this requires further even more vigorous exposure and struggle against the interventionist plans of France, particularly a struggle for the release of the Secretary of the League, Raymond Tuyau, the realisation of the decisions of the last congress of the League, etc.

It is precisely these concrete questions that the

*See No. 10, "Communist International."

League must tackle to attract the masses of the youth to the revolutionary anti-war front. Around these questions it is necessary to create a powerful and militant united front of the young workers, attracting the youths from the various bourgeois organisations of working class youth, those dissatisfied with the military policy of the Governments and bourgeois parties, those fearing war, and all others to our struggle to show them the revolutionary method of struggle against imperialist wars. Special attention must be devoted by the Y.C.L. organisations to the winning of the young workers from the Social-Democratic military organisations (such as the Reichsbanner in Germany) and military sport organisations, and they must ably expose the counter-revolutionary rôle which these organisations will certainly play in the decisive battles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie at the time of the proletarian revolution. For "the international split of the entire Labour movement has now been completely revealed (the II and III Internationals). The fact of the armed struggle and civil war between the two tendencies has also been revealed: the support of Kolchak and Denikin in Russia by the Mensheviks and 'Socialist-revolutionists" against the Bolsheviks, the alliance of the Scheidemanns and Noskes in Germany with the bourgeoisie against the Spartacists, the same in Finland, Poland, Hungary, etc." In the civil war between the proletarjat and the bourgeoisie they (the bourgeois agents in the Labour Movement, the Social-Democrats) inevitably take the side of the bourgeoisie, of the makers of "Versailles," against the "Communards." (Lenin, Volume XIX, III Edition, pages 76-77).

It would be entirely wrong to demand the recognition of our entire programme and constitution, at the very outset as a condition of the attraction of these groups of young workers. This could only frighten away the elements which have not yet completely matured for active revolutionary struggle. Here it is possible and necessary to follow the line of the creation of various radical mass organisations of the youth, making it their task to fight against imperialist war and for the defence of the U.S.S.R., of the Soviet regions of China, of China and of the oppressed colonial peoples.

In this entire struggle it is necessary primarily to base the task upon the attraction of the great masses of young workers to the struggle against war, the mobilisation for mass revolutionary actions and strikes and the strengthening of the ideological education of the masses of the youth on the questions of war and revolution in the Leninist spirit.

From August 1 to the XVII International Youth Day we must march to new victories at the head of the fighting youth of the West and East.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM AND WAR

THE rôle of French imperialism as the frantic organiser of anti-Soviet aggression and of an approaching imperialist massacre grows clearer every day. The very composition of its new "Pacifist" government is an indication of its militarist tendency. Paul Boncour, War Minister! His appointment is a noteworthy event because, intimately connected with the General Staff since the world war, it was precisely he, as a "Socialist," who first brought about the application of the most suitable methods for a fresh development of the military power of French imperialism. It was, in fact, he who, in 1927, introduced the first of the new military laws of French imperialism — a law characteristic, in Boncour's own words, in that it is of out-and-out war, of mobilisation "without distinction of age or sex," of the militarisation of the trade unions and of all organisations, even those which bear a cultural or intellectual character. From the cradle to the grave—such was the sense of Boncour's notorious law on the *"general organisation of the nation in time of war."*

It needed a "Socialist" to break with the customs of the past and with military routine; thanks to him the country is now divided into sectors, each of which can be mobilised separately in time of peace and each of which is managed by a committee uniting the representatives of the most essential industrial companies, of transport, of the banks, the civil service, the police and the general staff under the presidency of a general.

Monsieur Boncour is obsessed by this idea of military development and that is why he has never ceased for years past to clamour for "a strong government which really does govern." His right-hand man is the Air Minister, Painleve. The ex-"Pacifist"—of 1905, the man who denounced the Tsarist loans in France, is now one of the most faithful lackeys of the French General Staff

whose confidence he obtained in 1917 when he ordered execution of the "ring-leaders" of the great army mutinies which occurred in Champagne in April-May, 1917, and which coincided with the highest point in the wave of strikes which affected the metal industry and the women clothing workers of Paris. In 1925, as chief of the government and Minister of War, he proved himself the faithful executor of the wishes of the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, as exemplified in the massacre of the Riff peasants and the bombardment of Damascus. Finally, the third member of the French military triumvirate is likewise a flunkey of the General Staff, *viz.*, the shady business man Leygues, Minister for the Navy, who for years past has been devoted heart and soul to naval construction concerns, to Schneider and to the French Admiralty.

An indispenable ally for "external" war is the Minister for Civil War, *alias* the Minister of the Interior. This post is at present occupied by Chautemps—a close relative of the Public Prosecutor of Paris—a police specialist who was implicated in the Oustric affair. His coming to power has had as its immediate sequel a development of police provocation.

The post of Minister for the Colonies is occupied by Sarraut, ex-governor of Indo-China, where incidentally he found nothing better to do during his term of office (1912-1919) than establish an alcohol monopoly to match the opium one, decreeing the opening of new establishments for these two poisons hoping in this mediocre way to stem the rising tide of the national revolutionary movement.

And as president of this crew the choice has fallen, happily enough, on the great "pacifist" and "democrat" Herriot, the perfect type of anti-Bolshevik, the implacable enemy of the working class who, during the 1920 strikes, marched at the head of the gendarmes and personally directed the breaking of the strike and the protection of the blacklegs! Herriot who, together with his "radical" colleagues Dalbiez and Caillaux, initiated the low-down campaign against the so-called Soviet "dumping" in the summer of 1930. Herriot, who, no sooner come to power, is no less adept at hushing up the Gorgulov affair than Tardieu himself. Such is the highly symbolic crew which is to steer the ship of state, and which the Socialist Party through its parliamentary fraction officially supported on June 7, 1932.

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As we Communists alone correctly foresaw, the first declaration of the new government bore out its entire bellicose tendency. On the question of reparations it declares:

"As regards the reparations, France cannot allow those rights to be contested which are the outcome not only of treaties but also of stipulated agreements protected by the honour of signatures. Were the world robbed of the supremacy of right, that supremacy would sooner or later be replaced by the domination of force. In affirming this principle, the Government of the Republic is conscious of defending, not egoistical privileges, but universal interests."

In other words, the Treaty of Versailles is to remian inviolate. The Herriot government, like all those which have gone before it, intend to maintain the fullest application of this treaty.

After which the Herriot government goes on to announce "a certain alleviation of military expenditure" which, it declares, "would represent a stage towards progressive, synchronised and controlled disarmament."

The actual reductions of war credits are in reality a smoke screen—83 million francs for the 1932 budget and 1 billion 440 million francs for the budget of 1933. In 1933 the great fortifications in the North-East of France (representing at least an expenditure of 3½ billion francs) will be practically completed. The stock of supplementary munitions, manufactured under the false pretext of covering the gaps created by the war in Morocco, are practically completed. The reduction of 300 millions, due to the postponement of naval construction for 1933, comes at a time when French imperialism has just completed the reconstruction of its fleet of light cruisers, smaller vessels and submarines and the real motive for postponing fresh construction lies in the necessity for some delay in order to study the new projects for large battleships, which represent the new tendency in the French naval policy. The other economies will be realised by wage-cuts for the workers and employees of the war ministries and in the suspension of recruiting for the army of civil war, the *Garde Mobile*, the halt having been called because of the fact that the cadres of troops are already complete. The spectacular reduction of war credits does not therefore in any way lessen the real power of French imperialism in this sphere.

In addition to this, Boncour's attitude at Geneva has emphasised the fact that French imperialism is not giving ground at any point. Boncour received Hoover's proposal at the point of the bayonet and he has left no stone unturned in order to get this Yankee manœuvre quashed once and for all. Finally, at Lausanne Herriot was no less successful, generally speaking, in attaining the maintenance of the *status quo*, the only solution which could be favourable to the "gendarme of Europe."

The calling up of reservists en masse this summer to hold all sorts of manœuvres in instructional camps, the manœuvres in the Near East and the general concentration of the French high-seas fleet which had not been witnessed since 1913, and finally the carrying through of large scale aerial manœuvres and the enlisting of the whole population, above all the workers, in gas warfare — show how feverishly the war preparations are carried on. Simultaneously with the coming to power of this "Pacifist" government, we are witnessing for the first time aerial manœuvres extending over almost an entire department, i.e., the Pas-de-Calais. And next September, from Nancy to Rheims and Châlons-sur-Marne, we are to expect the population of the three or four departments to be involved in these military exercises. All this is coupled with the launching of a new offensive in Morocco against the last strongholds of the rebels.

One of the characteristic features of the last elections was that the masses voted for peace and against war, in favour of the radicals and Social-Fascists whose true face has not yet been exposed to them. The fact remains that the workers and peasants are determined to fight against war, and although the struggle does not as yet take revolutionary forms, it is none the less very deep and real. There is, then, a contradiction between the masses' will for peace and French imperialism's intensified policy of war, conducted by its Herriot government. This represents the cleft into which the Communist wedge must be driven so as to create the break and draw the masses towards the Leninist solution—for revolutionary action.

The Socialist Party has thoroughly grasped the situation. For months past its "Pacifist" campaign has been considerably intensified. The secretary of the Party himself, Paul Faure, summed it up in a big speech to the Chamber against the "cannon-merchants who are betraying the country" and for the "nationalisation of the war industries and the prohibition of trade in arms." Since the beginning of the year there have been great Pacifist demonstrations organised by "left" organisations, but in reality guided by the Socialist Party, throughout the whole country. At the present moment the Socialist Party is redoubling its Left Pacifist manœuvres.

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During the past eight months our Party has proved indisputably that it is getting into closer contact with the masses and vigorously leading them towards a struggle against war. The fine campaign waged by *l'Humanite* in exposing the massacres of the Dniester lies, the 24-hours' strike of the workers in the port of Dunkirk against war and the transport of munitions, the prompt and vigorous answer of *l'Humanite* and the Party to the Gorgulov onslaught, are undeniable proofs of this fact. It was our immediate and vigorous counter-attack which smashed the provocative anti-Soviet campaign, that swelled up in connection with the assassination of the President of the Republic. It was our vigorous campaign which has checkmated the whole provocative plan which had been laid in connection with this assassination. The activity of the Party's provincial press likewise emphasises that we have again become active in this sphere. The Workers' and Peasants' Congress which was held in Paris on July 2 and 3 also represents a step forward. We had been unable to organise such a meeting since the war in Morocco (July, 1925). The presence of several Socialist workers, as well as some from the confederate and autonomous trade unions is a sign that the Congress has won over all the sections that are sympathetic to our cause and is gaining ground in the reformist organisations. The regional congresses which are being organised throughout the country in preparation for the World Congress of Barbusse and Romain Rolland seem likewise to be a great success. All these activities are beginning to bear fruit, and on July 7 at Dijon, at the call of our Party, 5,000 workers held the streets in protest against the gas-bombardment manœuvres and obliged the General Staff to suspend the manœuvres as far as mobilising the civil population was concerned. The presence of numerous Socialist workers among the demonstrators and the fact that they were shoulder to shoulder with the Communists in the struggle against the gendarmes marks a very great success.

Our Party has indisputably broadened its contact with the masses and is leading them once again towards a widespread struggle against imperialist war in accordance with its old and glorious traditions.

French imperialism has so sensed the danger that it has just set on foot a vast campaign of police provocation under exactly the same circumstances as in 1929. With the assistance of an *agent provocateur* and some other splits it has involved one of the editors of *l'Humanite* in a so-called case of espionage by rank and file workers. The plot was framed under exactly similar conditions as in the great *coup* of July-August, 1929, which led to the incrimination of the entire Central Committee, imprisoning some

and the forcing of the rest into illegality on the pretext of espionage and of plotting against the security of the state, and attempting incidentally to wreck *l'Humanite* by an indirect attack on its financial management. There can be no doubt that Boncour has the firm intention of fostering and developing this new case with the aim of trying to paralyse our Party.

We have thus laid our finger on the sensitive spot. The French Communist Party has shown that it understands the heavy responsibility which rests on the shoulders of the French proletariat and its Communist Party at the present time in the face of the most violently aggressive and violently anti-Soviet imperialism of the entire world. These initial successes are a proof of the vast possibilities of action that are now opening before us. They must above all serve as an incentive to quicken the tempo of our activities, so that we eliminate our lagging behind the objective situation. Ideological mistakes which act as a curb to the development of our activities, constitute one of the first weaknesses against which we must struggle resolutely. First of all, there is the Right opportunist tendency which manifested itself in October, 1931, on the occasion of the cantonal election campaign and which attempted to construe our directives into Pacifist slogans. For example: there was the formula: "Peace by reducing the war budget," traces of which are still apparent to-day under the form of "Immediate stoppage of war expenditure." Then there is the necessity of eliminating the Left opportunist tendencies which even go to the length of defending the "boycott of war," that "stupidity," as Lenin called it,* which must be smashed by concrete argument.

Our ideological weakness likewise showed itself in the following point of view, which has become very widespread and which one of our Party speakers even developed during the course of the Workers' and Peasants' Congress of the Paris district:

"In fighting for improved wages and conditions . . . and against fines and police spying, that is to say against the militarisation of the factory, you are fighting against war. In fighting against rationalisation . . . for the seven-hour day without reduction of wages . . . you are likewise fighting against war," etc., etc.

Obviously, there can be no question of minimising the great importance of economic struggles (consider, for example, the present strike in Belgium) as a means of rousing the fighting spirit of the masses and of creating grave difficulties to imperialism in its efforts to engineer a war. But this way of thinking does not sufficiently emphasise the necessity of mobilising the masses for the direct struggle against imperialist war.

There can be no doubt that the theses of the Sixth World Congress on the question of war† are as yet very imperfectly understood in our Party.

The extreme feebleness of the discussion on the report of the Central Committee on the war question at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of France shows that our Party has not yet studied this question deeply.

Our Party must also lose no time in correcting its great weaknesses in regard to the question of a united front. Even at the Workers and Peasants' Congress of the Paris district, despite mass representation, a united front for the struggle in conjunction with large sections of the Socialist and confederate workers was only realised in one feeble measure. What is wanted in this field is a great work of enlightenment for the entire Party. The success of future struggles, and of those against war in particular, depends first and foremost on the realisation of the united front.

The essence of our ideological struggle against the Social-Fascists should be the serious continued and systematic refutation of the treacherous campaigns of Social-Democracy. For example, the great campaign launched by Paul Faure and the Socialist Party against the "cannon-merchants" has not yet met with a serious refutation from our Party. We have not shown what lies behind these proposals of "nationalise the manufacture of arms"; the present attitude of the Socialist Party, the repeated asseverations of its leaders on the question of war and on that of reparations, the latest manifesto of the Second International appealing for the "defence" of the U.S.S.R. — none of these have yet been seriously dealt with and exposed by our Party.

On the other hand, the fine demonstration organised by our Party at Dijon emphasises the great possibilities that exist in the sphere of mass action; it emphasises likewise with what grave misgiving we should view the attitude of passivity adopted by our Party during the aerial manœuvres which have been going on for two years past, for example, the recent manœuvres in the Pas-de-Calais. In this last instance we see the persistence of "Guesdist" traditions.‡ The weakness of the Paris district in this respect, despite the militant spirit of the Parisian proletariat, is to be attributed to the "theory" that the fight for increased wages constitutes *ipso facto* a fight against

*See "The Attitude of the Proletariat to War." Modern Books, 6d.

†Ibid.

‡See No. 8, "Communist International."

imperialist war. The four other important districts—Alsace-Lorraine, the East of France, and above all Lyons and Marseilles—have also shown grave defects in the struggle against war transports and against aerial manœuvres.

Since 1927 France can count as many as six important mutinies in its military prisons — mutinies in the course of which the insurgents acclaimed our Party — and the Workers' and Peasants' Congress of the Paris District ought therefore, to have most seriously considered the claims of the soldiers. However, the Congress did not include a single delegation either of conscripts, soldiers or reservists. None the less our successes of 1919 (the Black Sea), 1921 (the withholding of levies for the army), 1923 (the Ruhr) and 1925 (Morocco) have shown that anti-militarist action must be mass action if it is to be crowned with success.

The Party must considerably reinforce its activities among the agricultural workers, the poor peasants, the ex-service men and the urban petty bourgeoisie — which are most susceptible elements to being roused against war.

Finally, a study of the activities of the Party during the election campaign and the economic movement bears out the fact that the Party organisations and their leading committees have been insufficiently active, even passive, during the period of struggle. It is therefore absolutely necessary to put an end to the tendency to regard organisational tasks with contempt which still persists among certain militant elements and is a reflection of the idea of spontaneity which has done so much harm to the French working class movement in the past. The necessity of building up our Party organisations in the large enterprises, of putting life into them and of seeing that our Party committees carry on their functions under all circumstances and especially in times of struggle, is now a burning issue. We must seriously set about convincing all the militant elements in our Party, that to build up a genuine Bolshevik organisation is one of the essential conditions of a victorious struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the U.S.S.R.

The initial results obtained by the French Communist Party in its activities against war must serve as an incentive to intensify its activities and to strengthen its organisation so that this organisation may enable it, in the face of the most aggressive imperialism of the whole world and of the most unbridled demagogic manœuvres of Social-Democracy, to lead the French proletariat to the fulfilment of the glorious rôle which history has assigned it. ANDRE MARTY.

POLAND—INSTIGATOR OF IMPERIALIST WAR AND INTERVENTION

By J. BRATKOVSKI.

THE catastrophic economic crisis in Poland is rapidly sharpening. A number of important branches of industry are already almost completely paralysed. Fearful poverty is growing among the masses. Unemployment and starvation—this is the fate of millions of workers and toiling peasants of fascist Poland.

The toiling masses of Poland, however, do not follow the call of the fascists to patiently await the end of the crisis and accept the burden placed upon them by the bourgeoisie "for the welfare of the State."

The strike movement is growing. Wider masses of workers are being drawn into strike struggles, which are becoming their school of revolutionary action, in the process of which, even the backward elements of the proletariat are convinced by their own experience of the falsehoods of non-class government. Strike struggles now are frequently combined with stormy political demonstrations and revolutionary actions of the unemployed.

The struggle of the mass of peasants is entering a new stage. Characteristic of this are the actions of the toiling peasants during the spring and summer of 1932. The extraordinary resistance of the peasants, and the rapid transformation of an anti-tax movement into militant action against fascist terror and dictatorship were features of this struggle. These struggles rapidly spread, involving even those masses which are still under the influence of the Populist-Fascists. It is, furthermore, characteristic of these struggles that they involve the participation of wide peasant masses in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, thereby co-ordinating elements of the national liberation struggle against Polish occupation and assuming the character of guerilla warfare in individual localities (the peasant movement in the County of Lisk and the

White Russian peasants movement in Astashin).

The mass exodus from the Pilsudski movement is increasing. Its social basis is narrowing, hence the fascist dictatorship's tactic of seeking its support among "tested cadres." Friction in the camp of the bourgeoisie is developing, while simultaneous endeavours to reach agreement on the basis of a common counter-revolutionary struggle are being made. New signs of disintegration in the camp of the ruling clique are evident. A feeling of panic and lack of confidence is capturing a wide stratum of the bourgeoisie.

Fascist Poland is approaching the revolutionary crisis face to face.

The bourgeoisie does not await the catastrophe with folded arms however. It is developing its programme of a counter-revolutionary way out of the crisis by a furious onslaught of capital, wild fascist terror, and feverish preparations for imperialist war and intervention extensively. With unheard-of cynicism the fascist press now openly states, and more frankly than ever before, that the only way to avoid the blows of the economic crisis is by utilising the "boom in warm blood."

All signs indicate that Poland is hastily preparing for an imperialist war and intervention against the U.S.S.R. Despite the large budget deficit, the departure of considerable amounts of currency from the country, and the danger of inflation, expenses on armaments are constantly and steadily growing. In this respect Poland has broken all records in the fourth year of an extraordinarily sharp economic crisis. The military budget of Poland for 1932 is larger than the budget for any previous year. In April, 1931, the official expenses of the War Ministry were 56 million "zloti," in April, 1932, the figure was 64 million "zloti." According to official statistics the military budget of Poland, which constituted 27 per cent. of the entire budget in 1929-30, in 1932-33 accounts for 34.5 per cent. In reality, however, the amount of money spent in preparation for war is considerably more and constitutes over 50 per cent.

At a time when the entire economic life of the country is almost at a standstill owing to the crisis, the munition industry is working full capacity. Dozens of industrial enterprises are being closed, while government appropriations for the munitions industry are steadily growing. In January, 1927, the government invested 40 million "zloti" in this industry, at the end of 1930 the investments reached 225 million "zloti." This signifies a fourfold increase of the munition industry of Poland in the course of four years.

Polish fascism devotes special attention to the mechanisation of the army. Simultaneously with the gradual motorisation of the infantry and cavalry, a number of new mechanised detachments have been formed. One can gauge the extent of preparations for gas warfare from the establishment of a military training school in Warsaw for this purpose at a cost of two million "zloti."

New strategic railways are under construction in Poland, Western Ukraine and Western White Russia; of these special importance is attached to the main line connecting the new Polish port of Gdina with the Upper Silesian coalfields, also with the Czecho-Slovak Skoda works and the Roumanian port of Constanza. The cost of this line is being covered by a loan granted Poland by the well-known French munition manufacturers, Schneider-Cruseut.

Polish fascism is making considerable attempts to consolidate and develop its naval base. Proof of this can be seen in the rapid development of the port of Gdyna, Poland's attempt to "take over" Danzig, its treaty with Latvia regarding the overhauling of Polish warships in Libau, thus transforming that port into an operative base of the Polish navy.

The fascist government of Poland is also devoting special attention to the organisation of its air force. The budget of 1932-33 allots 3½ times as much as previous years for this purpose. Poland is especially interested in establishing air communication with its allies in the preparation of intervention, and extensive work is being done in this direction. It is sufficient to state that the Polish firm "Lot" has already established communications along the following route: Gdyna-Warsaw-Bukharest-Salonica, i.e., between the Baltic and Adriatic seas. A treaty between Poland, Latvia and Esthonia was recently signed according to which permanent air communications between these three countries are to be established. The fascist journal, "The Podzen Illustrated Courier," states in connection with this that direct communications have been established between Salonica and Tallin (capital of Esthonia). *"This," says this organ, "permits Poland to occupy the most important position* on Eastern Europe's most important airline, which is of great political significance."

Fascism is very rapidly developing its so-called extra reserve army military training. Not satisfied with the existing network of semi-military organisations with a membership of about 1,250,000, fascism has now begun the establishment of a new organisation to be known as "the League of Former Defendants of the Eastern Districts." This League will unite all the ex-service men of the Polish army on the territory of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

This organisation is of an outspoken anti-Soviet character and its aim is to play an active rôle in the struggle of the Polish occupation forces against the national-liberation movement of the Ukrainian and White Russian labouring masses.

All the Polish schools are being militarised with the aim, according to General Olshin-Wilchinski, of making "the so-called civil population merely a reserve army."

The Polish War Ministry has elaborated special plans for breaking strikes and the hindrance of Communist activities in the army. The Sejm has passed a law on the militarisation of railway workers, the aim of which is to guarantee uninterrupted railway service during war.

Fascism is conducting an unprecedented white terror, covering the countryside with a forest of gallows, carrying out a campaign of bloody reprisals ("pacification") on the national-liberation movement of the Western Ukrainian and White Russian toiling masses. Arrests are being made throughout the country in connection with the struggle of the Communist Party of Poland against imperialist war. The arrest of 78 Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish writers, artists, actors and journalists in Lvov, who recently published a proclamation for participation in the Geneva Anti-War Congress and struggle against the war danger, is of special importance. In its attempts to sharpen the white terror, fascism has drafted a new criminal code by which agitation against war will be especially severely punished. With the help of increased terror, *fascism is attempting to prepare the hinterland for imperialist war and anti-Soviet intervention.*

To fulfil its imperialist programme the ruling fascist clique is making every effort to unite, not merely the different factions of the ruling Polish bourgeoisie, but also the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations, on the basis of preparation for intervention. It is sufficient to point out the repeated attempts of the Polish fascists to reach agreement with the Ukrainian bourgeoisie; a reflection of these attempts can be seen in the recent congress of the U.N.D.U.* Simultaneously, fascism is assisting the Petlura forces in all ways, which was especially emphasised by the participation of official representatives of the Polish government and army in the official meeting of the Petlura organisation, where the former called for a war against the Soviet Union. The extensive agitation for the establishment of Ukrainian anti-Soviet legions, carried on by Petlura-ists and members of the Ukrainian military organisation is very closely linked up with the mobilisation of all forces for the war against the Soviet Union.

The fascist government of Pilsudski and Pristor is manifesting great activity in strengthening the organisation of an anti-Soviet bloc on the western borders of the U.S.S.R. in its attempts to consolidate all the counter-revolutionary forces of Poland. Poland is strengthening her union with Roumania with this aim in view. It is also this that led a delegation of fascist "Strelok" organisations to undertake a tour of the Baltic countries. This activity also explains why Poland took the initiative in convening a conference of the so-called agrarian countries of Eastern and Central Europe for the second half of August.

* * *

The Polish government of to-day, as the instrument of a new class suppression of the toiling masses of Poland, was established on the basis of the Versailles Treaty. The rôle to be played by this new government was twofold, as characterised by Lenin:

> "Out of Poland the Versailles Treaty created a buffer state which is to guard Germany from a clash with Soviet Communism, and which the allies regard as a weapon against the bolsheviks" (Vol. XXV., p. 401, Russian ed.).

Thus Poland received the mission of the gendarme of Europe as a heritage from Tsarist Russia. This deepened the reaction in the country still more and is an essential factor in the development of the imperialistic tendencies of the Polish bourgeoisie, an imperialism, the roots of which are deeply sunk in the economics of contemporary Poland.

The imperialistic programme of Poland — "Poland from sea to sea"—was developed in a number of speeches from well-known fascist politicians and spokesmen. The starting point of this anti-Soviet campaign is the thesis, best formulated by the fascist Senator Wyrostek in the Sejm on March 3, 1932, when he said, "The Riga Treaty (Russo-Polish Treaty of 1921) has not settled all our accounts with our neighbours." In keeping with this statement the official organ of Polish fascism, "Gazetta Polska," is carrying on propaganda that Pilsudski "should realise the ideals of King Batori and Vladislav IV. of connecting the Black Sea and the Baltic, the Dnieper and the Wysla, Kiev and Warsaw).*

Attempts to "scientifically" justify the necessity for a war between Poland and the Soviet Union can also be found in a book recently published by the Warsaw University called "Reconstruction." The author of this book, Kuntsevich, foresees the inevitability in the near future of a war between

* Ukrainian National Democratic Union, the leading party of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie.

* "Gazetta Polska," June 10, 1932.

Poland and the U.S.S.R. "The territory," states Mr. Kuntsevich, "upon which the decisive struggles of this war will take place should, if possible, be outside the borders of Poland."

The "map of the Polish Republic" published recently in "Towards a Great Nation," edited by Rowmund Pilsudski, is a glaring example of the frantic chauvinism of the fascist clique, and imperialist aims of the Polish bourgeoisie. This map not only puts the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia within the boundaries of the "United Polish Republic," but Lithuania, Danzig, Eastern Prussia, German Silesia and a considerable part of Eastern Germany as well, including, strange as it may seem, several suburbs of Berlin! But even this extensive programme does not satisfy all the adherents of this group, and many are now definitely speaking about the territory of Latvia, Esthonia and the North-Eastern part of Czecho-Slovakia.

The scope of Rowmund Pilsudski does not meet the desires of all the fascists, who believe it is necessary to extend the Polish territory not only on the Continent, but also to acquire colonies. This colonial programme of Polish fascism was formulated at the Congress of the "Sea and Colonial League" held at the end of June; this League is headed by a prominent Pilsudski-ite, Orlin-Dresher. Speaking of this congress, Pilsulski's "Courier Wilenski" states that this colonial programme of Polish fascism "is not a phantastic utopia, it is a logical result of the needs of the Polish nation." The Pilsudski organ maintains that this colonial programme will solve the unemployed problem and that Poland should insist that she receive one of the former German colonies in Africa in the League of Nations.*

However, the Polish imperialists very well understand that their arms are a bit too short to fulfil the "Poland from Sea to Sea" programme, and therefore the centre of Polish foreign policy is the problem of military alliances with other countries.

Some time ago when Poland concluded its treaties with France and Roumania, all fractions of the Polish bourgeoisie enthusiastically voted for their ratification, and at the present time not only the Pilsudski followers but the so-called "opposition" groups (from the National Democrats to the Polish Socialist Party) regard these military alliances as being the keystone of Polish politics, the holy of holies, an attack on which is regarded as tantamount to treachery. The basis of this system of military alliances is the union of Poland and France, the most militaristic of all the militaristic countries of the world. In a number of military agreements concluded between Poland and France the Polish government recognises the leading rôle of France and the French General Staff in a war against the Soviet Union.

The fascist press of various shades of opinion uses every occasion to emphasise the leading rôle played by France. "French gold and the French army," states the National Democratic "Warshavska," "is to-day the mightiest factor of peace and order." When the French military mission left Poland, the organ of the War Ministry, "Polska Zbroina," published an article by the French General Vonwille boasting that "the French and Polish armies are the two champions of peace." It is especially interesting to note what the Polish fascist deputy, Matskevich, has to say on Franco-Polish relations, as this person often speaks while others remain silent. In connection with the attempts of the Polish government to float a loan in France, Matskevich, in his paper, "Slovo," puts the question, "Does France need Poland?" And replies:

> "Absolutely. Even very much. We are a gendarme, standing at the heels of Germany and constantly reminding her, 'Remember the Versailles Treaty, remember that we are a thirty million strong country established for the sole purpose, when the necessity arises, *of dying for the integrity of the Versailles Treaty.*' Poland is of tremendous importance in giving France more freedom in its actions. Poland is a military force supplementing the French army."

Linking up its fate with imperialist France, the Polish bourgeoisie is constantly striving to strengthen the position of France by means of promoting its own military strength, and extending the system of military alliances under the supervision of French imperialism.

* * *

Together with the campaign of slander against the Soviet Union, an extensive anti-German campaign was conducted recently throughout the country. Festivals to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the annexation by Poland of Upper Silesia were utilised as occasions for sharp attacks against Germany. The Vice-President of the Sejm, one of the outstanding Pilsudski-ists, Poliakovich, said at a meeting in Lodz:—

> "Not all of Silesia has been returned to us. We must not forget that over half a million of our brothers have remained outside the frontiers of Poland."

At a 15,000-strong meeting of the "Strelok" military organisation, Captain Orlich, in his speech, said: "Our age-long enemy is Germany. But we are not afraid of her. Still, we cannot afford to ignore Germany. We are prepared for victory and have every confidence that victory is

* "Courier Wilenski," July 12, 1932.

on our side. We, 'Strelki,' declare to all those who favour a reconsideration of the question of our frontiers that the road from Berlin to Poznan also leads from Poznan to Berlin."

The recent rally of the Sokol organisations in Gdyna, at which 5,000 participated, among whom were delegates from Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and America, also bore the character of an anti-German demonstration. The meetings took place under the slogan of "solidarity of all Slav peoples under Poland's leadership against Germany."

The entire fascist press is conducting a chauvinist anti-German campaign. The new party of National-Socialists, at the head of which stand fascist non-party deputies, such as Tsishak and Washkevich, demands in all its resolutions "to take over Silesia, now in the hands of Germany and make Danzig part of Poland." Simultaneously the papers publish resolutions of the supreme council of the "All-Polish Youth" (national democratic organisation), in which, among other things, it is said:

> "The Polish people are returning to their own territory step by step. It is a vital necessity for the Polish people to annex these lands and make them part of Poland. Those territories which have not yet been freed from foreign invasion are Danzig, Eastern Prussia, the German part of Silesia, and the Polish counties of Lower Silesia."

The more outspoken anti-German press openly states that "there can be no talk of any Polish-German agreement, a conflict between these two countries is historically inevitable," and "Polish policy must always base itself upon the assumption that war between Poland and Germany is inevitable."*

Especially is this slander on the part of Polish fascism being carried on in Danzig. Here the Polish fascists organised a series of meetings at which sharp resolutions denouncing the Danzig authorities were adopted. A broad campaign for boycotting Danzig was initiated simultaneously with other measures directed towards the economic weakening of Danzig.

The anti-Danzig campaign and the feverish war preparations in the Polish Corridor are being carried on with the aim of bringing one of the most important strategic points in the preparation for a war against the Soviet Union under Poland's direct supervision.

"It is important for us," writes one of Poland's well-known government journalists, Studnitski, in the Vilna "Slovo," "that Danzig should be politically in sympathy with Poland so that at the critical moment, in time of war, we would not have difficulties with the unloading of munitions, as was the case in 1920. Then, we were compelled to break the resistance of Danzig by force with the help of British troops. We need a seaport which is politically on our side, which will serve us without any friction, without any stoppage during the war period."

Together with this broad anti-German campaign in Poland, we see in Germany a colossal growth of nationalism and chauvinism directed against France and Poland. Under the banner of struggle against the Versailles Treaty and its main supports, Poland and France, the National Socialists are striving to consolidate the wide petty-bourgeois masses and poison the millions of workers, enslaved by the Versailles conditions, with chauvinism. The National Socialists are attempting to break the united front of the German and Polish proletariat; their press is filled with articles demanding a "settlement" with Poland on Danzig and the Corridor. Hitler's star diplomat and specialist on questions regarding Eastern Europe, Alfred Rosenberg, in his book, "The Myth of the 20th Century," defines the national-socialist policy on Poland in the following terms:

> "In this great decisive struggle for honour, liberty and bread of such a creative nation as Germany, one cannot count with useless and incompetent weak Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, etc. They must be pushed to the East to free the land to be tilled by the hands of German peasants."*

Deep imperialist contradictions between Poland and Germany undoubtedly hinder the establishment of an anti-Soviet bloc. But precisely for this reason the Polish and German imperialists are preparing for intervention more intensely. One section of the bourgeoisie is striving to overcome these contradictions and thus clear the road for intervention (numerous plans for the occupation of Lithuania, plans for capturing Danzig, imperialistic tendencies in regard to Eastern Prussia). On the other hand, certain groups of the bourgeoisie are for a closer agreement with Germany on the basis of anti-Soviet activity. Their aim is to pursue their plans after anti-Soviet intervention is completed.

A very characteristic expression of the tendencies towards Polish-German compromise (based upon joint preparations for war against the Soviet Union) is the Polish paper, "Slovo," published by landlords, who hold huge estates in the Western Ukrainian and Western White Russian districts occupied by Polish imperialism. For

* "Gazetta Warshavska," May 28, 1932.

* "Der Mythus des 20 Jahrhunderts," München, 1931, p. 635.

these people it is especially important to capture Soviet White Russia and Soviet Ukraine, where they were the owners of immense estates prior to the revolution. Questions concerning Danzig and the Polish Corridor are not, therefore, of first-rate importance to them.

The editor of this paper, Matzkevich, is conducting a systematic campaign for a Franco-Polish-German agreement. He says quite frankly that "Europe cannot afford to weaken itself by *internal* wars" and "gas warfare and microbes can be used in another place," i.e., in the war against the Soviet Union.

Therefore, "Slovo" greets the victory of Hitler, considering it to be "more anti-Soviet than anti-Polish." "We are with Hitler in many common interests, primarily the understanding of the Bolshevik danger which Hitler reveals."*

Notwithstanding the attempts of groups of the Polish and German bourgeoisie to come to an agreement on the basis of struggle against the Soviet Union, we are still witnesses of the sharpening contradictions between Polish and German imperialism.

These deep contradictions between the bourgeoisie of Poland and Germany cannot be abolished by means of an agreement. These contradictions are part and parcel of the Versailles system, are the basis of the post-war organisation of Europe; they are linked up with the rôle of Poland in regard to France, the rôle of a watchman guarding not only that which he himself has robbed, but what was robbed by his master.

Therefore, notwithstanding the financial difficulties of Poland in France (question of loan), despite the many voices of dissatisfaction expressed in Poland, and the fact—as the well-informed Corab-Kukharski puts it in "Matin"—that "among the wide sections of the adherents of France, Poland is regarded as a professional instigator of war," the basic line of the Herriot government is to maintain the military alliances of Poland and other vassal states, directing this union against Germany and primarily against the U.S.S.R.

In conditions of catastrophic economic crisis and the growth of the revolutionary upsurge, a further sharpening of imperialist contradictions is inevitable. Above all, this will be a sharpening of contradictions between imperialist but defeated Germany and imperialist Poland, the watchdog of the predatory Versailles Treaty. Nevertheless, owing to the impossibility of solving the Polish-German contradictions by peaceful means, the bourgeoisie of both countries, with the active support and under the guidance of Western imperialist powers, will do everything in their power to find a provisional compromise in the form of war against the U.S.S.R.

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The chauvinist campaign directed against Germany enjoys the whole-hearted support of the social-fascist P.P.S. At a Congress of P.P.S. and fascist miners' and engineers' unions held on June 10 in Katowits, a resolution was adopted which declares that the mass dismissal of workers in the Upper Silesian industry is a "direct result of the antagonistic attitude of German industry towards the interests of Poland." The resolution protests "against German attacks" on Polish territory and demands the immediate deportation of German employees and factory managers from Poland. By means of this nationalistic manoeuvre, fascism and social fascism are attempting to direct the growing unrest of the masses into the channels of anti-German hatred.

The P.P.S. has long been the instigator of anti-Soviet intervention. In connection with the growing sympathy of the broad masses of Polish workers with the Soviet Union, the P.P.S. has merely changed its method of anti-Soviet agitation and is now camouflaging the struggle against the U.S.S.R. by cunning "Left" manœuvres.*

At a time when even the fascist organs are compelled to recognise that "the Bolsheviks do not want war" ("Gazetta Polska," March 10, 1932), the leaders of the P.P.S. are screaming about "Red imperialism." On the question of Japan's bandit attack on China the P.P.S. "Napshoot" writes: "Russia's behaviour is mysterious. The interests and desires of Soviet Russia in Manchuria are identical with those of Tsarist Russia, which, as is known, did not stop short of war to attain her ends."†

The P.P.S. is attempting to prepare the ground ideologically by means of an anti-Soviet campaign for an attack of Polish and international imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Poland is mobilising the broad masses of workers and toiling peasants of Poland for the struggle against intervention and imperialist war. The anti-German scare of social fascism and fascism is counterposed by the revolutionary united front. During the "National" festivals in connection with the tenth anniversary of the annexation of Upper Silesia, the Polish Communist Party organised revolutionary actions of the workers under the slogans of unity of the Polish and German workers. The following description of this demonstration was published in the Katowits paper, "Polonia":

"On the tenth anniversary of the annexation

* "Slovo," May 22, 1932.

*For complete information see No. 11/12, "Communist International."

† "Napshoot," January 31, 1932.

of Upper Silesia the Communists held an eight-hour-long meeting. The village of Murtski, in the neighbourhood of Katowits, from eight in the morning till four in the afternoon, was the scene of a Communist demonstration, the size of which had not yet been seen in Upper Silesia. A large group of Communists marched to Dombrov and Murtski, agitating everywhere and everywhere calling out their slogans, 'Down with fascist dictatorship!' 'Long live the Soviet Union!' 'Long live the solidarity of the German and Polish proletariat!' The local police were compelled to call for reinforcements from Katowits."

Whilst mobilising the masses for the struggle against imperialist war, the Communist Party of Poland points out that the contradictions between Poland and Germany (which are a result of the Versailles system) can only be solved by the proletariat, by means of revolution and the abolition of the Versailles Treaty.

The preparation for intervention and scare-mongering against the U.S.S.R. is being counteracted by the Polish Communist Party by the mobilisation of the toiling masses under the slogan of "Defend the U.S.S.R.—the Socialist fatherland of the toilers of the world!" The Communist Party of Poland explains to the masses that "the interests and tasks of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. are closely linked up with the interests and tasks of the revolutionary movement in all countries and vice versa, the tasks of the revolutionary proletarians of all countries are just as closely linked up with the tasks and achievements of the proletarians of the U.S.S.R. in their work of socialist construction" (Stalin, "On the Opposition," p. 456, Russian edition).

In rousing the masses for struggle against imperialist war and intervention, closely linking up this struggle with the everyday battle of the toiling masses, the Communist Party of Poland is leading them to the fulfilment of Lenin's slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war against their own bourgeoisie.

THE FORCED MANOEUVRES OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

By D. Buchartzev.

THE modern crisis of capitalism is leading to imperialist war and a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, in the first place, with iron logic. It is not a question whether this or that group of the capitalists want to fight, they are forced to fight, since *"they cannot help fighting, if they want to preserve capitalism"* (Lenin).

Social Democracy is developing "theoretical" reasonings with special zeal on the lines that the modern crisis is *"weakening"* the danger of war. It argues that capitalist governments, shaken by the crisis, have not the means for further armaments and they are, therefore, forced to reduce their armaments, and this in itself lessens the danger of war. Unfortunately, similar tendencies sometimes slip through even in our literature.

It is quite obvious that such a statement of the question has nothing in common with the real processes developing within the depths of capitalist society, which is furiously preparing for a military solution of the contradictions tearing it to pieces. It is sufficient to cast but a hasty glance at the growth of the armaments of capitalist states, even though during the last three years of crisis, and war industry in countries particularly shaken by the crisis (for instance, Poland, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, etc.), to become convinced that the bourgeoisie, in its desire "to preserve capitalism," is putting the taxation screw on to the utmost. This is to raise the wind for the preparation of a new war, despite state bankruptcy and the most cruel industrial, agrarian and financial crises. The real "difficulties" which the bourgeoisie is forced to think seriously about, before throwing itself into a military adventure, is the inter-relation between classes —the proletariat and its Party, the growth of a revolutionary upsurge and revolutionary feelings among wide masses in a situation of the deepening crisis of capitalism; and growing Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The sharpening of the crisis conditions the intensification of the antagonisms between the individual capitalist states and the bankruptcy of given capitalist states is an additional stimulus to military collisions.

"Capital *gains* from the bankruptcy of a competing capitalism and a competing nation, as it concentrates still more strongly; consequently the sharper and the 'more close' the economic competition, i.e., the economic push towards bankruptcy, the stronger is the striving of capitalists to add to it the *military* push of the competitor

towards bankruptcy." (Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International.")

This is why a crisis situation deepens the imperialist contradictions with particular force, and strengthens the menace of a new imperialist world war on even a grander scale than the war of 1914-1918.

The complexity of the preparation of a new imperialist war and renewed military intervention against the U.S.S.R. in particular, under the conditions of the current crisis (which is undermining the pillars of the capitalist system), is painfully obvious in the domain of *ideological* preparation of the masses. The bourgeoisie displays considerable agility and a capacity for manoeuvring in this, and assiduously kindling chauvinism and nationalism on the one hand, while bringing huge doses of pacifist trickery into play on the other.

The Geneva Conference on disarmament, which is, essentially, a conference for the preparation of a new war, is a splendid example of these methods and manœuvres, by the aid of which the bourgeoisie, while preparing a new war, is striving to poison the masses with the "sugary deceit" of pacifism.

And, as always, the Social-Democratic parties in the various countries and the Second International as a whole, are fulfilling the social orders of their master most zealously and energetically.

* * *

The Party of the Second International, which is not only supporting the bourgeoisie in its preparation of a new war, but represents the ideological organiser of war-intervention against the U.S.S.R., well understands the tremendous difficulties and dangers latent in a new war and chiefly in one against the Soviet Union.

The new imperialist war, which the bourgeoisie is now preparing, will begin in conditions radically different from those in which the war of 1914-1918 commenced. The last imperialist war began on the *threshold* of the crisis of the capitalist system. The new war will have to be begun in *the height* of an unheard-of, unprecedented crisis, which is developing on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism.

The war of 1914-1918 began in conditions of comparative calm in the labour movement (with the exception of a few countries); to-day, the new war will begin on a powder barrel of revolution, which threatens to explode at any moment.

The war of 1914-1918 began in conditions wherein the Social-Democracy, being the bulwark of the general staffs in the imperialist countries, were opposed only by the Bolsheviks in Russia, and tiny, comparatively unimportant groups of revolutionaries in other countries. In the new war, Social-Democracy, which is preparing war, will, in every country, encounter the powerful resistance of the Communist Party, leading the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The new war is being prepared and will begin in conditions of the existence of the Soviet Union —this vanguard of the world revolution, which is victoriously constructing Socialism and has proved its real desire for peace and unflinchingly exposed the war plans of the imperialist states. Finally, the new war will proceed in conditions of an ever-widening national and revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. A further characteristic of the present period is that masses have convinced themselves that the danger of a new war is no myth, no invention for purposes of agitation, no invention of Communists, but a real fact. A war is going on in the Far East, and the position which has been taken up in this war by the League of Nations, individual imperialist States and . . . the Second International, has shown the masses that the capitalist world has, in fact, already entered a new round of war and revolutions. The danger of a new war is most closely interwoven with the danger of fascist dictatorship. The masses want neither a new war nor a fascist dictatorship. They are seeking for paths and methods of struggle against both the one and the other.

The revolutionary upsurge in capitalist countries and the colonies, the growing sympathy towards the Soviet Union, not only on the part of the workers, but also the petty bourgeois and intellectual elements of the capitalist countries, are forcing the Social-Democracy to change its tactics. Social-Democracy is interested in a new war of intervention against the Soviet Union. It is thirsting for new intervention; but *such intervention which would guarantee the overthrow of Soviet power and the victory of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.*

From the very beginning of Japanese intervention in Manchuria, which contained within itself real danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R., the parties of the Second International not only came forward, in effect, as upholders of Japan in relation to the seizure of Manchuria (articles of Vandervelde, the Polish and French Social-Democrats, etc.), but also as provocateurs of a military collision between Japan and the U.S.S.R. The leaders of the Second International were convinced that Japanese imperialism could, without any particular difficulty, smash the Red Army; seize the Far-Eastern region and Eastern Siberia, destroy the realisation of the Five-Year Plan, and strike a crushing blow at Communism all over the world.

The leaders of the Second International, hand in glove with the Russian Mensheviks, mockingly

advised the Bolsheviks to "buy themselves off" from the Japanese by ceding them Vladivostok and the Far-Eastern region. The Latvian Social-Democrats recommended the Soviet Government, "in a friendly spirit," to cede the Japanese territory to the limits of Irkutsk, since it would then be "possible" to avoid war with Japan. The Social-Democrats had no qualms about any methods of provocation so long as they could badger the Soviet Union into a war with Japan. They pretended to be friends of the Chinese people and expressed their surprise that the Soviet Union did not send the Red Army to assist China. At the same time, they assured their workers that the Soviet Union had concluded a military agreement with Japan for the division of China, and that the Red Imperialism of the Soviet Union is not a whit better than Japanese imperialism, etc.

The Soviet Union, and the Leninist leadership of the C.P.S.U. (B.) (Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)) was able to smash all the interventionist plans of those circles of Japanese militarists who were hoping to strike a *sudden* blow at the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was able to break the provocation by its consistent policy of peace, and simultaneously mobilise the vigilance of the toilers in the Far East, strengthen its defence, and thereby *trump the Japanese brass-hats' card of a sudden blow at our Far-Eastern boundaries.*

Articles began to appear in the bourgeois press, by fairly notable military specialists, proving that military action on the part of Japanese interventionists against the Soviet Union might more probably end in a military defeat of Japan. In addition to this, the internal position of Japan has sharpened to such an extent that war against the Soviet Union might evoke events inside the country which are not at all desirable, either to the Japanese bourgeoisie, or the Second International. The Social-Democrats, who had assured the workers of the West that the Soviet Union is threatened with inevitable defeat in the event of war, are beginning to re-estimate their values to a certain extent. The Social-Democratic leaders are beginning to seriously reckon with the possibility of a military victory of the Soviet Union, in the event of intervention against her. The Social-Democrats are afraid that the toilers of the Soviet Union, without at all desiring war, will offer such resistance to any interventionists' sortie, that it would become an impulse to the revolutionary action of the working class. At the last Plenum of the Executive of the Second International, Hilferding declared, in a close conclave of leaders of the International, that he seriously fears that "the smashing of Russia by Japan would have a ruinous effect, but is not the contrary also true? Is it not true that the Russian victory over Japan will result in its spreading to the Rhein?"

This declaration of Hilferding, which is published in "La Vie Socialiste" of the 18th June, is highly characteristic. It throws a flood of light on one of the motive forces determining the new tactics of the Second International.

The bourgeoisie seeks a way out of the crisis along the path of war. The flames of this war would have spread its fire long ago throughout the world, if the bourgeois did not know that "revolution stands even more closely behind war than behind armed peace" (Lenin). The Social-Democrats are concretely feeling the spectre of revolution, which is looming behind the new war, and they fear this revolution not less, if not more, than the bourgeoisie.

The P.P.S. (the Polish Socialist Party) understand full well that war against the Soviet Union, with the present level of the revolutionary moods of the Polish workers and the peasants, may produce results which will be healthy neither for Polish capitalism nor its truest bodyguard, the P.P.S. Even in such a country as Austria, which it would seem stands aside from the main currents of anti-Soviet intervention, the Austro-Marxists, who have worked so much for ideological preparation of intervention, seriously fear that war against the Soviet Union, and particularly a victorious war for the latter, might act as an additional impetus to revolutionary action on the part of the Austrian workers. Under pressure of the revolutionary feeling of the masses and their sympathy towards the U.S.S.R., and fearing the revolutionising effect of a victory of the U.S.S.R. in the event of anti-Soviet intervention, the Second International is forced to a new manoeuvre under the flag of an alleged determined "defence" of the Soviet Union.

* * *

An estimate has already been given in our press regarding the decision of the Executive Committee of the Second International on "the defence of the Soviet Union."* There is not a single concrete proposal in this resolution, and not a single practical form of struggle of the proletariat against war and the intervention; these are replaced by "left" phrases and empty threats (in muffled tones), of which it must be said that no one even knows to whom they are addressed. But, at the same time, this resolution as well as a number of speeches and articles of leaders of the Second International, particularly "left" articles in the Social-Democratic press, etc., are strongly spreading the idea that the Second International is now becoming the sole defender of the Soviet Union.

* See Nos. 9, 10, 11/12, "Communist International."

A day after the elections in Prussia the "Vorwärts" suddenly (and in complete contradiction to all it had written before) carried an article against Japan and its anti-Soviet plans, and has almost appealed for the defence of the Soviet Union. In a leading article, after the meeting of this Executive of the Second International, the "Vorwärts" assures us that—

"there is no more determined opponent to the policy of encircling the Soviet Union, or the policy of intervention, than the German Social-Democracy and the Socialist and Labour International."

This sounds pretty cynical, particularly after precisely the same "Vorwärts" had declared (10/11/31) that "the Soviet Union is, in relation to China, just as imperialist a power as Japan," and after the Social-Democratic press in Germany and other countries were doing their best to convince the workers that there was a secret agreement in existence between Japan and the U.S.S.R. on the subject of the division of China.

The *Austrian* Social-Democracy is running a large-scale demagogic campaign, particularly in the person of Otto Bauer, who has assumed the position of hot defender of the Soviet Union in his literary work. The Austrian Social-Democracy is demonstrating its "friendly" attitude towards the Soviet Union in every way. Placards and slogans calling for the defence of the Soviet Union figured this year in the Social-Democratic First-of-May demonstration in Vienna. The leader of the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" of the 26th May is entirely devoted to the "defence" of the Soviet Union. Otto Bauer is threatening, in other leaders, in the event of war "to convert a capitalist war into a war against capitalism" ("Arbeiter Zeitung" of 4th June).

The Independent Labour Party of Great Britain has recently issued an appeal entitled "Hands off the Soviet Union." The General Secretary of this Party simultaneously published an article on "The I.L.P. and an Attack on the Soviet Union." In these documents it is stated that the Japanese imperialists, with the open support of powerful capitalist groups in Great Britain and other European countries, are preparing an attack on the Soviet Union. It is pointed out in the appeal that the British Government is systematically supporting the Japanese imperialists, while the Soviet Government is doing everything to avoid war. The General Secretary of the I.L.P. writes in his article that not a single capitalist government has given so many proofs of its aspirations for peace in practice as the Socialist Government of the U.S.S.R.

"War against the Socialist Soviet Union"—the leader of the I.L.P. points out—"would involve the danger of the destruction of the labour movement for a whole generation."

Individual leaders of the Latvian Social-Democracy are putting forward the slogan of the union of Latvia with the U.S.S.R., and the member of the Executive of the Second International, Fritz Menders, one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Latvia, sent a memorandum to the Secretariat of the Second International, in which he enumerates the services of Latvian Social-Democracy in the struggle for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia. He points out that "if war should break out, it will be impossible to measure the Soviet Union and other countries which will be conducting the war with the same measure; for the Soviet Union this will be a defensive war." These highly "radical" declarations conclude, however, with ruminations about the necessity of "the self-liquidation of the dictatorship" in the U.S.S.R. in order to "avoid the transformation of their dictatorship into a Bonapartist dictatorship under pressure of the demands of war."

What does all this mean? It is quite obvious that there can be no question of any "transformation," to use the expression of Menders, of the parties of the Second International in their estimate of the U.S.S.R. and their attitude towards it. It would be a most atrocious mistake to imagine that the Second International, which has grafted all its roots into the modern system of imperialism and emerged as the physician and healer of decaying capitalism, could become a friend of the Soviet Union. The Second International is now developing a big manoeuvre, the character and motive forces of which must be revealed and exposed before the eyes of the toiling masses of the whole world, who are sincerely desirous of defending the Soviet Union against the war of intervention which is preparing on all her frontiers.

* * *

We have pointed out above the fundamental causes which are forcing the Social-Democrats to change their tactics, for the preparation of the masses, for a new war, in conditions of a most violent crisis and the growth of the revolutionary movement. We have already pointed out that the toilers in the capitalist countries are linking up the struggle against fascism with the struggle against military intervention. These questions are organically linked up with the problem of problems: *a capitalist or a revolutionary way out of the crisis.*

The Social-Democrats, striving to retain their influence on the masses, and arrest the process of collapse of the parties of the Second International,

are starting a big campaign in a number of countries to "show" that the Social-Democrats are carrying on a struggle against fascism. An obvious example of this is Germany, where the Social-Democrats have succeeded, with the aid of the theory of "the lesser evil" and the tactics of the "iron front" to retain their influence on certain, fairly important working masses, by convincing them that the Social-Democrats intend to fight against fascism. However, despite this, the widest masses of workers, seeing the menace of fascism and the treachery of Social-Democracy, are beginning to lose confidence in the "iron front" and spontaneously striving for the creation of a real and revolutionary united front with the Communist workers, under the leadership of Communists. Social-Democratic individual headquarters organisations and reformist trade unions are beginning to manoeuvre around the question of the united front, and publishing appeals to the Communist workers, calling for the united front on condition of . . . abandonment of criticism against Social-Democrats, and are, at the same time, prohibiting any form of united front from below in the localities. Social-Democracy wanted a united front which would include the Communist Party in the "iron front" of the Social-Democrats, i.e., in a bloc with the bourgeois parties. This is to be seen quite vividly by the example of the manoeuvres on the question of the defence of the U.S.S.R. In a number of Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions, all sorts of "left" resolutions, all sorts of "left" demands and programmes of "socialist construction" are put forward, "the socialisation of certain industries, etc., is elaborated.

A few days before the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Second International, the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" wrote as follows: "Where in the world can the Russian proletariat find friends and support if Japanese imperialism is really arming to attack the Soviet Union—in the Communist nonentities or the great Social-Democratic parties in the Western world?"*

On the 29th of June, 1932, the same "Arbeiter Zeitung" in a leading article writes that in the event of the anti-Soviet interventionist plans maturing, "the working class will not hesitate for a moment as to which side it will take up." But this will only be possible "under the leadership of the big Socialist Parties and not under that of the small helpless Communist sects." And further, developing the same idea, the organ of Otto Bauer, in effect, exposes the meaning of this manœuvre.

The author of the leading article tries to convince the reader that the Communist Parties are committing a crime against the Soviet Union by fighting against the Social-Democratic Parties. The task of the Communist Parties should become, in the opinion of the "Arbeiter Zeitung," not the disorganisation of the Socialist Parties, but their consolidation, so that, in a moment of danger, they might be capable of mobilising the whole energy of the working class in defence of Russia and against any imperialist violator of peace.

The whole none-too-difficult philosophy of the new manœuvre of the Second International finds its clearest reflection in these lines. The Social-Democratic leaders are trying, on the one hand, to monopolise the "Defence" of the Soviet Union, i.e., to head the working masses and to isolate them from the Communists by assuring the workers that the Communists are disrupting the cause of the defence of the U.S.S.R. in their narrow Party interests, and, on the other hand, what is not less important, to prepare an arsenal of reasons in advance which would justify the future inevitable betrayal of the Second International at the moment the military intervention against the Soviet Union begins.

* * * *

Well, and what will happen if the war breaks out and the imperialist powers make up their minds on military intervention in the U.S.S.R.? What will the Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International do then?

There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the Second International will come out entirely and wholly on the side of the interventionists. The slightest doubt about this, particularly in respect to the so-called "lefts" is a most harmful and dangerous opportunist illusion. In preparing for the new war and the defence of the Soviet Union, every honest proletarian of the West, and every sincere friend of the Soviet Union must firmly realise that, whatever resolutions the Second International may adopt, however many touching leaders Otto Bauer may write—at the moment of war, the Second International will strain every nerve to confuse the workers, corrupt them, and to mobilise them against the Soviet Union.

The Social-Democratic Party of every country will do this in its own way, in accordance with the needs of its own national bourgeoisie and the degree of revolutionary resistance of the working class.

It is difficult to forecast the *forms*, which military intervention against the U.S.S.R. will assume at the beginning, and no less difficult to determine the demagogic phraseology by which the interventionist activity of the Second International will be disguised. But the fundamental thing is already clear to-day.

*See No. 10, "Communist International."—Ed.

When military intervention against the Soviet Union begins, the Social-Democrats will elaborate a whole system of reasoning which would, on the one hand, justify the tactics of the Second International, and on the other would poison the minds of the working masses against the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Parties. One of such reasons that will be given will be the following: The Second International is now helpless to assist the Soviet Union, since the working class is split owing to the tactics of the Communists. We, at the time,—the leaders of the Second International will declare,—proposed to the Russian Bolsheviks that they should influence the Comintern and the Communist Parties and persuade the latter to cease their struggle against the Social-Democratic Parties. This they did not do and therefore, we, the Social-Democrats, notwithstanding all our desire to defend the U.S.S.R., are not now in a position to do anything.

Already, at the beginning of Japanese intervention in Manchuria, the French Socialists, in particular Rosenfeld, were "proving" in the columns of the "Populaire," that in the event of Japanese intervention against the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R. will find itself in a state of *isolation*. And this is the fault of the U.S.S.R. itself, since it did not appeal to public opinion promptly. At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Second International, the representative of the French Socialist Party, Pierre Renaudel, in his speech emphasised that if "Russia had joined the League of Nations she would have had the right to demand arbitration and compel the League to determine as to which was the aggressive side." So that when military intervention against the U.S.S.R. begins, the ideologists of the Second International will explain it by this; that on the one hand, the U.S.S.R. has not joined the League of Nations, and on the other, it did not accept the demands of the Second International.

At the time of intervention, the Second International and its individual parties will stress their *impotence* to be able to undertake anything against military intervention in the U.S.S.R. in every way, just as it is now stressing the *impotence* of the League of Nations to counteract Japanese intervention in China. The representative of the P.P.S., Libermann, in his speech at the meeting of the Commission on the resolution dealing with the "defence" of the U.S.S.R., elected by the Executive of the Second International, declared in the narrow circle of the Commission that one cannot make a general declaration that the Second International would take its stand in defence of Russia under all circumstances, "for this is the slogan of the Communists in Poland and other countries."* This is particularly impossible in Poland, since in the event of the Polish Socialist Party coming out with the slogan of the defence of the Soviet Union, it would find itself under the blows of the Government terror. Libermann, who has long since been imbued with deep respect for the methods of the Pilsudsky-ites Government, declares that if they suddenly found themselves faced with the danger of war, they could not fight exclusively for the Soviets, *"for we also want to live and our Party would have lost everything, right up to the point of its very existence, if we adopted this slogan."*†

"We are told: You must fight exclusively for the Soviets. If we said so ourselves it would be equivalent to passing sentence upon our movement. And as it is, we are subjected day by day to the danger of being killed and outlawed. If we disappear from the scene—we, the bulwark of the opposition, — the entire Polish opposition would become powerless."

These arguments of Libermann, in one or another version, will be repeated by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties of the other countries also, who will "prove" the impossibility of their active participation in the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union. They will try to assure the workers that their active participation in the defence of the U.S.S.R. might evoke cruel repressions on the part of the police. And yet, the Social-Democratic Parties—the leaders of the Second International will say—are required for the defence of the working class against the Fascists. Is it worth while to risk losing the only stronghold of the struggle of the working class against the Fascists, namely, Social-Democracy, for the sake of the Soviet Union!

"Is the destruction of the Soviet Union such a terrible thing?" A fairly lively discussion took place around this question at the closed Session of the Commission of the Executive of the Second International. Hilferding and a number of other speakers emphasised that the destruction of the Soviet Union is not by any means the destruction of Socialism.

"It would be imprudent to say,—said Hilferding, — that the defeat of Soviet Russia will be equivalent to the destruction of Socialism. Socialism will remain."

The Czech Social-Democrat, Sukup, stressed

*See No. 11/12, "Communist International."

† The quotations from the speeches of the various leaders of the Second International are taken from the report of the Session of the Executive of the Second International, published in the "La Vie Socialiste" of 18th June. (Re-translated.—Ed.)

this still more sharply, and said that he does not share the pessimism of the "lefts" and does not think that "the defeat of Russia would be equivalent to a smash of Socialism. The Labourists in Great Britain were smashed at the elections, but Socialism continues to exist."

Social-Democracy will utilise these "arguments" at the moment of war-intervention against the U.S.S.R. and say that one must proceed along the line of the lesser evil: let Bolshevist Socialism perish, it is more important for us to preserve European Socialism. All the more so that a war against the U.S.S.R. is not war against Socialism. The French Socialist, Bracké, said this in so many words at the Session of the Commission and declared that "imperialist Japan will not be fighting against the revolution, but against Russia, which could equally have been Tzarist."

Well, what is the fundamental task of the Social-Democrats, — the leaders of the Second International will ask when the war begins. This task has now been formulated by the Russian Menshevik Dan at the same meeting of the Commission. So that there may be no misunderstanding among his own people, Dan declared most categorically: "*We are not upholders of the view that we must proceed to the bitter end on the side of Soviet Russia. We spoke of the necessity of Democracy, the democratic liquidation of war.*"

It is for this task, the task of the "democratic liquidation of the war," i.e., the utilisation of the war for the overthrow of Soviet Power and for the establishment of bourgeois democracy, — it is for this that the Social-Democratic Parties will mobilise the working masses. They will, as in the past, put forward the theory of the "lesser evil" and prove that the Soviet Union is inevitably threatened with defeat which may end in the restoration of the monarchy. The task, therefore, of all sincere friends of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, is to try and attain "bourgeois democracy in Russia," as the "lesser evil" in comparison with a monarchist-fascist restoration.

One could give here on the basis of various documents, which have been published none too widely by the Social-Democratic press, many other arguments which would be put forward by the Second International, and its individual parties, at the moment of war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. But the quotations from the speeches of the participants in the last Executive of the Second International, which we have given, show with sufficient clarity, that we have to do with a most nauseating manœuvre of the Second International.

A "discussion" is going on in the bosom of the Second International between the "lefts," and the official leadership, in regard to the extent and depth of this manœuvre. The "lefts" propose to abstain from sharp criticism of the Soviet Union at present. This was demanded by Otto Bauer at the plenum of the Executive of the Second International; this is demanded by Max Adler in his article in the June number of the Austro-Marxist organ the "Kampf," this was demanded by the representative of the Independent Labour Party— Brockway, etc. It is obvious that the thing is not that the "lefts" have now come to see the light, and really consider that their most base badgering of the Soviet Union was an error. The "lefts," taking the feelings of the masses into account, consider that they have to mask all that which would reveal the real attitude of Social-Democracy towards the Soviet Union, to master the masses who are striving to defend her. At the present moment, before the war, the "lefts" consider that the fundamental task is to *capture the masses,* and isolate them from the Communists *before* the war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. breaks out. And then, when the war does break out, it will be possible and necessary for them to change their tactics.

All these manœuvres of the Second International confront our Communist Parties with exceedingly responsible and difficult tasks. Our Parties must realise the grave danger of the manœuvres of the Second International. Without an exposure of these manœuvres, it will be impossible to fully mobilise the masses in defence of the Soviet Union. And special attention must be devoted to the "left" manœuvres of the "left" leaders of the type of Otto Bauer, Brockway and Co.

It must be confessed that as yet exceedingly little has been done by us in this respect. Neither the book of Otto Bauer on "rationalisation and false rationalisation," where an estimate is made of the Soviet Union, nor the discussion on the U.S.S.R., which was developed in the Social-Democratic journals in connection with the article of Otto Bauer "On the Tasks of the Russian Social-Democracy," have met the criticism due in the columns of the Communist press. Yet, it must not be forgotten that all these "works" are the theoretical basis of the "left" manœuvres of the Second International. These articles are read by thousands of inexpert workers who sympathise with us, who are led astray by their "left" phraseology, which is intended to convey the impression that the Social-Democrats are "reforming." Otto Bauer's book was accepted even by some comrades in the ranks of the Communist Parties, as a "change" in the

estimate of the U.S.S.R., as a certain party tried to assure us, who said that Bauer's book "is exploding the foundation from under the feet of the Social-Democratic agitation against the Soviet Union." Even now, mistakes are still made, particularly in practice, in the estimate of the "left" manœuvres of the Social-Fascist leaders. Some comrades, particularly in Czecho-Slovakia, are putting forward the theory of the "double-edged nature" of the Social-Fascist manœuvres, in the belief that these manœuvres are objectively radicalising the masses and thereby making it easier to draw the reformist workers to our side.*

The new manœuvre of the Second International must be exposed in all its species and manifestations, in a form which the masses can understand, and linked up with the questions which are to-day agitating the working masses, thus revealing the motive forces of this manœuvre and its counter-revolutionary aim. A systematic and profound exposure of all these new manœuvres of the Second International, which they are forced to adopt by the situation of the eve of revolutions, and a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R., is the fundamental prerequisite, for the organisation of the masses, for a revolutionary struggle against a new war under the banners of the defence of the U.S.S.R., under the banners of the Communist International.

* See No. 11/12, "Communist International."—Ed.

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

By O. Bewer.

(*Based on newspaper reports*).

THE Communist Parties in the reports on their activity invariably emphasise the extreme weaknesses of the struggle against the danger of the imperialist war. This self-criticism is quite justified. The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, including even the best of them, such as the C.P. of Poland, are still conducting a very insufficient struggle against the impending danger of imperialist war and the new counter-revolutionary intervention against the U.S.S.R. The international proletariat, the toilers of the U.S.S.R. and of the colonial countries, are entitled to demand new efforts in this direction from the Communist Parties, to categorically demand resolute changes with regard to the carrying out of the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern* and the instructions of the E.C.C.I. explaining and supplementing them.

However, all the defects in the anti-militarist activity of the Communist Parties notwithstanding, the work of disintegrating the armies of the capitalist countries, and the work in the factories supplying the needs of the war departments is being carried on ceaselessly.

We shall cite here a few concrete examples from the most important countries which, in our opinion, well illustrate the processes now maturing within the capitalist system, particularly among the armies of the capitalist countries. We shall begin our brief review with Japan. Japanese imperialism holds the questionable honour of opening the new era of imperialist wars (which must inevitably also be a new era of revolutions). The Japanese Communists are now located at the most responsible section of the anti-militarist front. The ruling classes are ruthlessly persecuting the Communist Party. It was against this Party that a special law was passed, the so-called law on "harmful ideas," capable of arousing the envy of even the most stupid and malicious hangmen of the medieval inquisition. Nevertheless, the Japanese comrades are doing their great revolutionary work without hesitation and with the greatest courage. They are conducting an intensive defeatist campaign throughout the country, connecting up the slogans of the defeat of Japanese imperialism with the slogan of the defence and active support of the U.S.S.R. and Chinese revolution. The Japanese Communists are carrying on intensive defeatist work in the army. This had to be admitted even by the Japanese command, which reported the "criminal" work of the Communists at the front more than once. As a result of the work of the Communists on the Shanghai front, the army command had to dissolve several units, and sent a considerable number of soldiers back to Japan with the explanation that these soldiers had displayed signs of "homesickness." This explanation inspires the belief that the fermentation among the Japanese forces at the Shanghai front was so serious, that the army command had to

* See "The Attitude of the Proletariat to War." Modern Books, Ltd., 6d.

display very great care with regard to the employment of repressions. A month earlier the same army command did not hesitate at mowing down one of the units operating in Manchuria by machine guns for refusing to fight against the Chinese troops. After this incident one of the issues of the "Red Banner" ("Sekki"), the central organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, published a number of letters from soldiers on the Manchurian front in which these comrades described in simple language, which one could not read without a deep sense of agitation, the terrible conditions of their life at the front, and assured the Party and the Japanese proletariat that difficult as the conditions of work of the Communists at the front may be, they would fulfil their revolutionary duty to the end.

In China, the basic line of struggle of the Communist Party against the danger of imperialist war follows the direction of developing the people's revolutionary war for the expulsion of the imperialists from China, particularly of the Japanese imperialists. The two basic forms of this popular anti-imperialist emancipation war consist in the struggle waged by the Red Army in the Soviet regions, and the anti-Japanese partisan movement developing in Manchuria. The Red Army of the Soviet regions of China represents a worthy child of the Chinese Communist Party, is headed by Communists who also constitute its organising, commanding and political backbone. The Red Army successfully defends the territory of the Soviet regions which, according to the calculations of the bourgeois correspondents, contains a population of 50-60 million. These same bourgeois correspondents admit that the numerous "expeditions" of Chang Kai-shek against the Red Army inevitably resulted in the Red Army swelling at the expense of desertions from the Nanking armies and securing additional supplies of ammunition from the same source. The bourgeois correspondents have figured out that the Nanking army has thus "equipped" the Red Army with more than 100,000 rifles, millions of rounds of ammunition, machine guns, tanks, airplanes, etc. The strength of the Red Army, according to the estimates of the bourgeois correspondents, consists of 150,000 well armed soldiers and a similar number of reserves who are partially armed and partially engaged in supply work and intelligence service.*

The partisan movement in Manchuria began as a spontaneous armed struggle of the toiling masses of this ill-starred country against the Japanese imperialist plunderers. This movement has seriously interfered with the realisation of the anti-Soviet plans of the Japanese imperialists. The natural conditions of Manchuria are highly favourable to guerilla warfare and greatly hamper the movements of the regular Japanese army. The C.P. of China is aiming at merging all the different streams of the anti-imperialist struggle into a single powerful anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution to clear the entire Chinese Far East of the imperialist ravagers and of their White Guard assistants.

As regards Poland, we would like to mention the bloody struggle of the proletariat of Gdyn against the shipment of war supplies to Japan. The Polish press most carefully avoided mentioning these events, but the German newspapers gave the following highly interesting particulars. The movement began in consequence of the poisoning of several dock workers by phosgene while loading bombs into a vessel destined for Japan. The movement rapidly affected the mass of the port workers of this basic Polish military port. A crowd of workers singing the "Internationale" and proclaiming greetings to the Soviet Union, attacked the building of the port commandature, smashing all its windows. Troops were called out, but the Polish sailors who were ordered to disperse the demonstrators lowered their rifles and formed an actual cordon around the demonstration. The Second Uhlan Regiment, which was stationed in Gdyn, also refused to take part in the police operations, despite numerous orders on the part of the officers. Considering the situation in the garrison the commanding officers formed special units of officers and non-commissioned officers, who succeeded in breaking up the movement after resorting to ruthless terror and shooting down the strikers. However, the Gdyn workers succeeded in damaging the floating dock in the port and putting it out of commission. The German newspapers report that hundreds of workers were arrested in Gydn for participation in this movement. But it is impossible to destroy the revolutionary struggle of the masses by arrests!

In another vassal country of French imperialism, Czecho-Slovakia, which it will be remembered has been assigned a very important rôle in the plans of the French General Staff in the preparation for a new counter-revolutionary intervention against the U.S.S.R., there is, judging by the reports of the legal censored Czecho-Slovakian press, considerable revolutionary fermentation in the army, showing that (despite all the weaknesses of the anti-imperialist work of the Czecho-Slovakian comrades), the decisions of the VI. Congress on the tasks of the Communists in the struggle against the danger of imperialist war did not remain on paper in Czecho-Slovakia

*See No. 13, "Communist International."

either. Thus, according to the legal Czecho-Slovakian press, the following occurrences took place in Czecho-Slovakia: (1) Fraternisation between soldiers and unemployed demonstrators and a joint struggle against the police in Komotau; (2) distribution of their bread among the unemployed by soldiers in Most; (3) a collection of money for glass workers on strike by soldiers of the Falkenauer garrison; (4) a collection of 150 kronen by frontier guard soldiers for the victims of a demonstration who were fired upon at Koszut; (5) during a strike in Northern Bohemia soldiers were placed at two power stations, but soon had to be removed owing to their political "unreliability"; (6) during a movement in Slovakia two companies of soldiers who were ordered to disperse a demonstration had to be withdrawn also owing to political "unreliability"; (7) during the winter events in Ruthenia (Carpathian Ukrainia) there were also numerous expressions of sympathy on the part of the soldiers dispatched to "pacify" the Ruthenian peasants, etc. A number of other similar facts could be cited from the legal Czecho-Slovakian press, including facts indicating the spread of revolutionary sentiments among a considerable section of the latest army recruits.

Finally, in France, the birthplace of the modern international gendarme, despite the considerable weakening of the anti-militarist work of the C.P. of France, despite the feverish activity of the French police attempting to paralyse the growth of the revolutionary wave by all possible means of repression and treachery, even in this classic land of imperialism, the "mole of the revolution" is doing its work. A striking illustration is furnished by the failure of the great air manœuvres in Dijon which were broken up by the successful revolutionary mass work of the French comrades. The newspapers reported that the working population of Dijon refused to carry out the orders of the staff of the aerial defence, turning on the lights when ordered to put them out, making a noise when ordered to maintain absolute quiet, etc.

On July 8, despite all the efforts of the police, a great anti-militarist demonstration was held in Dijon, which was addressed by Communist deputies with a call to convert the imperialist war into a civil war and defend the U.S.S.R. In vain the spies attempted to arrest the Communist speaker, the crowd kept them still and, pressed within the powerful clutches of proletarian fists, they were forced to listen to the Communist speeches. It is only to be wondered why the "Humanité" found it necessary to publish the names of the Communist speakers, why it aided the police in their work and rendered its own work more difficult. We would propose to call the editors of the newspaper to the strictest party account for such actions. How was it permitted to publish a portrait of Comrade Duclos in "Humanité," in the very same issue in which it was announced that Comrade Duclos was being searched by the police on a charge of espionage. Such customs must be ended once and for all.

The French and other foreign newspapers do not report the revolutionary actions of the soldiers during the air manœuvres, but everything points to such actions having taken place. The pages of "Humanité" are full of reports of revolutionary fermentation in the French army and navy. For example, the cruiser "Primogètè," which was sent to the Far East. While en route Communist literature was distributed on the warship and in San Francisco, the French sailors fraternised with the American workers, to the greatest indignation of the officers of the cruiser and the bourgeoisie of San Francisco. Or here is another example: a soldier correspondent from the reservist camp in Campagne writes to "Humanité" on June 30:

> "We were resting in our rooms when apprised of the fact that five reservists, heads of families, had been put in jail merely for demanding food. Immediately all the battalions were notified; the soldiers went to the jail en masse, broke out the gates and released the prisoners."

The correspondent concludes:

> "This example shows that an amnesty can be secured only by the collective struggle of the workers, soldiers and reservists."

Such are some of the examples of "discipline" in the French Army and of the state of mind of those who, according to the plans of Tardieu, Paul Boncour and Co., are to serve as cannon fodder to satiate the appetites of French imperialism.

In the Belgian army (which forms an organic and inseparable part of the French army) the present heroic strike of the miners also revealed the existence of strong revolutionary sentiments. According to the account of the central organ of the C.P. of Belgium, "The Red Banner," there were numerous cases of soldiers refusing to participate in the suppression of the strike. Five hundred soldiers were court-martialled for breaking military discipline.

In conclusion we shall quote several isolated incidents from the struggle for the defence of China and against the intervention in the U.S.S.R., based upon the reports of the legal Tientsin press. The outstanding feature everywhere was the courageous fight of the Chinese seamen. In Shanghai, in Hamburg, in Rotter-

dam and in a number of other ports they repeatedly succeeded by their resolute refusal to participate in the loading and unloading of arms shipped to the Far East, in delaying the shipment of these arms for a considerable period. It is necessary to note that in this struggle the Chinese comrades (who constitute a negligible minority among the workers of the European ports) did not always meet with timely and sufficient support among the European workers. This fact alone shows how great still are the gaps in the anti-militarist work of the European Communist Parties. The flaws in this field are due to the weakness of the work in the factories on the part of the European Communist Parties, though, as the facts publish by the press show, the possibilities here are very great. Thus, the newspapers report the strike of the Bombay port workers who refused to handle arms for the Far East. In Dunkirchen (France), the port workers called a twenty-four hours' strike. A similar strike was called in Dombrowa, Poland, by the workers of the big Strems chemical mill in protest against the imperialist war. In Holland, the workers of a certain factory spoiled a large number of gas masks which were to be sent to Japan. In Germany, in the Polte factory in Magdeburg, and in the Pisternia chemical mill of Vielfeld, the workers organised a go-slow strike, retarding the production of arms ordered by the Japanese military mission. In Leipzig, the railwaymen, upon discovering a transport of arms, partly destroyed it. To these and similar facts it is necessary to add the numerous and well-attended meetings and demonstrations of protest held in every country. All this is still insufficient but, we repeat, these facts show that the conditions for a struggle against imperialist war, for a struggle not by words or resolutions, but by mass actions, already exist. The advanced workers of all countries offer an example of what must be done. This initiative of the advanced workers of individual plants already shows the further development of the growing anti-war struggle. The ruling classes are perfectly aware of this fact and are therefore everywhere conducting a frantic offensive against the Communist Parties for their anti-militarist work. For the same reason the Communist Parties must draw proper conclusions from this fact and respond to to the blows of the ruling classes by an even more vigorous mobilisation of the forces on the anti-militarist front, by strengthening the party organisations in the big factories and in the army, by even more widespread and general exposal of the war plans of the imperialists, and the rôle played in them by the Social-Fascist leaders and the Second and Amsterdam Internationals.

NOTE TO OUR READERS

Our periodical is a really international journal, appearing simultaneously in five languages; its contributors are distributed throughout the entire globe. But this fact involves the technical disadvantage that between the issue by the International Editorial Board and the publication of the English edition a long period elapses, and our readers, therefore, only receive the issue some weeks after the nominal printed date of publication.

To guarantee uniformity of time and agreement with the various editions we date and number the magazine according to the closing date of the International Editorial Board. It is often only possible, however, to print at a later date. Attentive readers will have noticed that issues contain articles which are only written aften the nominal date of issue and deal with the very latest events.

We therefore ask our readers not to be misled by the nominal printed date of publication.

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The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement 6D.

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